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A Map
of the
British Settlements,
and the
UNITED STATES
OF
NORTH AMERICA,
from the
COAST of LABRADOR
to
Florida.
intended to illustrate the Travels
of M.r Lambert through
those Countries.
NEW BRITAIN
LABRADOR
NEWFOUNDLAND
GULF
OF
ST LAWRENCE
CANADA
NEW
BRUNSWICK
NOVA
SCOTIA
CAPE BRETON
ISLAND
NEW ENGLAND
MASSACHUSETS
BAY
NEW
HAMPSHIRE
RHODE
ISLAND
CONNECTICUT
NEW
YORK
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW
JERSEY
VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
FLORIDA
LAKE
ONTARIO
or CADARAQUI
LAKE ERIE
or ERIGUEI
LAKE HURON
LAKE
MICHIGAN
GULF STREAM
GULF OR WESTERN OCEAN
ATLANTIC
Bermudas I.s
Sable Island Banks
Whale Back
Green Bank
Porpoise Bank
Boston
Philadelphia
Baltimore
Washington
Richmond
Charleston
Savannah
Cape Fear
Cape Hatteras
Cape Lookout
Cape Charles
Cape Henry
Cape Race
Cape Ray
Cape Sable
Cape Canso
Halifax
Quebec
Montreal
Albany
New York
Detroit
Fort Pitt
Fort Cumberland
Fort Frederick
Fort Prince George
Fort Augusta
Fort Chartres
Fort Bute
Fort Orleans
Fort Pontchartrain
Fort Michilimakinac
Fort Niagara
Fort Oswego
Fort Schuyler
Fort Stanwix
Fort Pitt
Fort Cumberland
Fort Frederick
Fort Prince George
Fort Augusta
Fort Chartres
Fort Bute
Fort Orleans
Fort Pontchartrain
Fort Michilimakinac
Fort Niagara
Fort Oswego
Fort Schuyler
Fort Stanwix
Bay Royal
Penobscot Bay
Passamaquoddy Bay
Gaspe Bay
Chaleur Bay
Miramichi Bay
Nipissing
Temiscamingue
Abbitibbis
Chippewayans
Athapuscow
Slave Lake
Lake Winnipeg
Red River
Hudson's Bay
James Bay
Labrador
Newfoundland
Cape Race
Cape Ray
Cape Breton Island
Sable Island Banks
Whale Back
Green Bank
Porpoise Bank
Bermudas I.s
British Statute Miles 69½ to a Degree.
50 40 60 80 100 250 500 500
80 75 70 65 60 55
65 Longitude West from London.
London Published Oct.r 25.th 1793 by Cadell & Jon.s Paternoster Row

TRAVELS

THROUGH

CANADA,

AND THE

UNITED STATES

OF

NORTH AMERICA,

IN THE YEARS

1806, 1807, & 1808.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES AND ANECDOTES OF SOME OF THE LEADING CHARACTERS IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY JOHN LAMBERT.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

WITH A MAP AND NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS.

VOL. I.

SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED AND IMPROVED.

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PREFACE

TO THE

SECOND EDITION.

THE obstacles which for nearly three years have retarded the publication of a second edition of these Travels being now removed, the work is again presented to the Public with such emendations and improvements as opportunity and further information have rendered available. Its publication also at this particular moment will no doubt prove acceptable, as it affords a more recent account of those parts of North America which have lately been, or are likely to become, the seat of war, than any other work of the kind. It will enable the British reader to form a just opinion of the Canadian colonies, and to appreciate the character of the neighbouring enemies who threaten their existence. The various manners, customs, and dispositions of the several classes of inhabitants, both

in Canada and the United States, are given with fidelity and truth; and the distinguishing features of society are depicted in their natural colours. It has been the author's object to describe things not as he had read or heard of them, but as he found them; and to exhibit to the European world the vast and rapid strides which the American continent is making towards wealth, power, and dominion.

Few men thirty years ago would have believed the United States capable of attaining such a rank among nations as she holds at this day; and yet it is nothing to that which might be expected from her, were her councils guided by wisdom. The two Canadas have also rapidly improved, but not in proportion to their neighbours, for colonies have not the vigour and spirit of independent states. The genius and disposition of the French Canadians, who form so large a proportion of the inhabitants of the Lower Province, are of so peculiar a nature that they require more than an ordinary attention on the part of their Government. Much, however, has cer-

tainly been accomplished in the management of a people so opposite to ourselves both in religious and political feelings. The wise and beneficial measures which have been pursued towards the Canadians reflect the highest credit on the British Government. French as well as English, Catholics as well as Protestants, are all unanimous in defence of their country. Every man throughout the Canadas is a soldier; and not one of them but has cheerfully attended the call to arms. This interesting fact cannot but convey to the mind the most pleasing sensations; since we find a nation of ancient foes both in politics and religion now united in the strictest friendship, and vying with each other who shall display the greatest ardour in protecting that Government under which they have enjoyed so much happiness.

The character and manners of the Canadians, as well as the people of the United States, are even at this day but little understood by us; and the most vague notions and ideas are entertained both of the countries and their inhabi-

tants. Prejudice and animosity have contributed to warp the judgement of some writers; while others, seeing every thing with interested or partial eyes, have presented to the world the most flattering and deceptive accounts. The true character of a people, and particularly such a one as that of the United States, is of a very mixed nature, and can never be gathered from this or that remarkable feature. Manners and customs are all more or less subservient to local circumstances and situation, and may perhaps carry a nationality about them; but the mind, the disposition, and humours of men are ascertained with difficulty. The Canadians have less variety in their composition, being separated into French and English, and partaking of the peculiarities incident to each of those nations. The inhabitants of the United States, on the contrary, are composed of people from almost every nation in Europe, though by far the greater part are descended of British parents. The establishment of their independence has created an evident

change in their moral as well as political character; and from this no doubt arises that self-consequence and conceit in the young American, which gives such an air of rude licentious liberty to the mass of the people.

This kind of liberty frequently proves more tyrannical in society than the occasional abuse of magisterial power in a monarchical government; for a man in the American States, if he does not happen to be on the popular side of the question, is often afraid to speak his sentiments, lest he should be abused and ill treated. These political animosities and arbitrary conduct extend even to courts of justice, where the Judges on the bench too often feel their contagious effects. It is such coarseness and vulgarity in their political disputes which render the American manners so repulsive to Europeans, and have raised in their minds so great a prejudice against them. There is, nevertheless, much real worth in the American character. The United States can boast of having produced many excellent men, who have

reflected the greatest credit on their country. Many at this day could be found who would prove distinguished ornaments in the councils of their nation, did not the virulence of party faction, and the intrigues of a foreign despot, render their services abortive.

The war with this country has been commenced on the part of the Americans in total disregard of their own interests, as well as those of honour and humanity. They have voluntarily enrolled themselves in the cause of universal despotism, and, could they receive his assistance, would put themselves under the banners of one of the greatest tyrants that ever swayed a sceptre. Yet these people talk loudly of their republican liberty,—their love of freedom and virtue. If their Government possessed one spark of either, it would have lent itself to a better cause. The American name is degraded under such rulers. The whole people are stigmatized for the sottish ignorance of a few demagogues; and they are regarded by Europeans with distrust and contempt, for the

paltry equivocation and shuffling which have marked their official character. Had a Washington or a Hamilton presided at this eventful period, how different would have been their conduct!

The misfortunes which have attended the American arms in Upper Canada will most likely contribute to check the pride and insolence of the populace, though it may not convince an ignorant Government of its errors. Their ill success on land was as unexpected by the generality of the Canadians, as their temporary success at sea was unlooked for by the British nation. The invasion and reduction of the Upper Province, at least, was considered almost inevitable, from the superior numbers which it was thought would be brought against it. Lower Canada might be overrun; but while Quebec and the navigation of the St. Lawrence remained to us, it was not likely that it would be conquered.

The ignorance and imbecility of the American Government have, however, completely baffled the expectations of all

parties; for it cannot be imputed to the wisdom of its councils, that its naval captains fought with skill and bravery. Several of those officers were educated in the British navy, and acquired their knowledge in a school which it was not in the power of the United States to create. The generals and officers commanding their land forces have displayed every thing but knowledge, conduct, and valour; and their troops, every thing but discipline and subordination. One army, after a march of some hundred miles into the interior, turns short round, and runs home frightened at an enemy which it had never seen; and leaves its unfortunate commander behind it, lamenting his hard fate, and a troublesome diarrhœa. Another sets out on a contrary direction; but, instead of pursuing its enemies, is employed in running after pigs and poultry, and plundering the houses of its countrymen. One officer and his corps are surrounded and taken by a handful of British; another surrenders a fort without firing a shot; and a third, who is no less a person than the

commander-in-chief*, winds up the campaign by going distracted!!

The province of Upper Canada, which has borne the chief brunt of this unnatural contest, was before the former war, nearly one vast wilderness: a few forts and small settlements for the convenience of the fur trade, were all that relieved the gloomy appearance of interminable forests and immense lakes. Since the conclusion of that war, the settlement and cultivation of Upper Canada have been an object of much attention on the part of the British Government. The Loyalists who were driven from the United States found here a comfortable asylum, and, together with numerous families who emigrated from Scotland, soon formed a respectable colony. The settlements were also considerably increased by the disbanded officers and soldiers who had served in America. These people received large grants of land from Government as a reward for their services; and either cultivated the spots themselves, or sold them

* General Dearborn, Secretary at War.

to others who did. This zeal for peopling the Upper Province met with every encouragement from home, as it tended to form a strong barrier against any future invasion from the neighbouring States. Towns of considerable magnitude were in a few years constructed upon the sites of old forts and blockhouses; and the shouts of hunters and the Indian warhoop now gave place to the busy hum of trade and commerce. The Lakes became covered with ships instead of canoes; and every town resembled a sea-port.

Kingston, York, Queenstown and Niagara, are the principal towns of the Upper Province. York, the capital, is situated on Lake Ontario, and has every prospect of becoming a city of much importance in that distant part of the world. It posseses great facilities for commerce and navigation. The Americans got possession of this town in the early part of the year, but were soon driven out of it by our troops. The vast lakes which cover so great a portion of this province, have brought into action the naval tactics of

both powers, and these oceans of fresh water have proved extremely serviceable in contributing to the defence of Upper Canada. The Lakes Ontario, Erie, and Superior, are capable of receiving the largest fleets. One of them, viz. Superior, is upwards of 400 miles in length, and 1500 in circumference. The depth of these vast lakes in many places cannot be ascertained. And the storms which frequently occur, are often more destructive than those which happen on the ocean.

The climate of Upper Canada is more mild and temperate than that of the Lower Province, and for that reason is preferred to the latter by most of the European emigrants who proceed to North America. Vegetation of all kinds is most abundant; the harvests are extremely luxuriant; and by many people Upper Canada is termed the garden of North America. One unpleasant attendant on the warm climate of this province, is the prodigious number of noxious reptiles, particularly rattlesnakes, which infest the woods and islands every where: cultivation however is ra-

pidly destroying them. The forests abound with animals of every kind capable of yielding food and raiment: and the Indians, who reside here in great numbers, live almost entirely on the profits arising from the chase. The skins of the animals are sold for considerable sums, and the bodies serve them for food. The commerce of Upper Canada has within these few years increased amazingly; and large quantities of flour, potash, timber, and other native productions, have been exported to England. The English laws entirely prevail in this province. Direct taxation is but trifling; and any man with a moderate sum of money, has it in his power to acquire a very handsome competency. The manners, customs, and amusements of the people resemble those of the British nation; and though society is yet in its infancy, it is not wanting in those requisites that make it agreeable to strangers.

The Upper Province is indeed a valuable appendage to the British empire, and, in connexion with Lower Canada, is essentially necessary to the maintenance of

its power in North America. It is the magazine from whence this country derives considerable resources, in some of which it even excels the Lower Province. Without the latter, however, it would have no opening for the diffusion of its commerce and productions to foreign parts. The St. Lawrence is the great outlet for Upper Canada. Quebec is the key of all our possessions in that quarter, and is the only port through which the productions of the two provinces can find their way to Europe. While we keep possession of this strong hold, which is now become almost a second Gibraltar, and have the pre-eminence on the lakes and rivers of Canada, neither province can be wrested from us.

These prefatory observations respecting Upper Canada have been called for by the events which have occurred since the publication of the first edition of these Travels. At that time the war was only in embryo, and no particular interest could attach to any place from military events. Since then it has acquired a greater interest by the operations of the war with

the United States, though they have by no means been confined entirely to that province: Lake Champlain and the neighbourhood of Montreal have felt their influence: and it is probable that the Americans, finding themselves baffled in all their attempts to subjugate the Upper Province, may be induced in the ensuing campaign to invade Lower Canada; in which case these volumes will be found to possess a greater claim to the public attention than any other account of North America extant.

Nov. 1*st*, 1813.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

FIRST EDITION.

" What a large volume of adventures may be grasped within this little span of life, by him who interests his heart in every thing; and who having eyes to see what time and chance are perpetually holding out to him, as he journeyeth on his way, misses nothing he can fairly lay his hands on!" STERNE.

I HAD long entertained a desire to visit the American continent, and to explore those parts which have been rendered interesting by the glories of a Wolfe and a Washington. In the one I had to see the effect of a *foreign* government upon the minds and manners of a people widely differing from ourselves: and in the other, the effect of a *new* government upon those who a few years ago were British subjects, but who now hold a distinguished rank in the scale of independent nations. In short,

to see the new world, and to tread on that ground which little more than three centuries before was *unknown*, was an object which I ardently longed to accomplish.

My wishes in this respect were at length gratified; and I arrived at Quebec in the autumn of 1806. I had previously read several authors who had written on Canada; but I had not been long arrived, before I found that a considerable alteration and improvement had taken place within the last twenty years. The descriptions then given, were no longer perfect. Many interesting particulars had likewise never been noticed; and Lower Canada seemed to be as little known to the people of England, as the deserts of Siberia.

I therefore availed myself of this favourable opportunity to collect information, and to make myself acquainted with the present state of Canada. Every thing was of an interesting nature; for though the province belonged to the British Government, yet the majority of the people were totally different from those whom I had been accustomed to see; their manners,

customs, language, and religion, were all new to me; and I found myself at once upon a strange soil, and among a foreign people.

After residing a twelvemonth in Canada, I visited the United States, a country, whose *real* state and condition is almost as little known in England, as that of Canada; and the manners and disposition of whose inhabitants are seldom viewed but through the false medium of popular prejudice. Whatever truth there may have been in the accounts given of the United States by former writers, they present at this day, but imperfect or distorted pictures of the country and its inhabitants. Those who have not seen the United States for the last twenty years, would be astonished at the alteration that has taken place. No country, perhaps, ever increased in population and wealth, or rose into importance among other nations, more rapidly than the United States. Within the space of thirty years they have emerged from the obscurity of colonies, into the rank of independent States; governed by

a constitution altogether novel in the present times, but which, whatever defects it may contain, has proved the source of all their prosperity. The people of England are too apt to hold the character of the Americans in trifling estimation; but when it is known that their country is fast approaching to importance, that their imports and exports already amount to *one-half* of those of Great Britain, while their annual expenditure is not a *twentieth*, and their national debt not a *fortieth* part of ours, we cannot avoid giving them our meed of admiration. It is to be hoped that the two nations will no longer give way to blind and acrimonious prejudices against each other, but endeavour to cultivate the blessings of peace, instead of the horrors of war.

I certainly felt a lively interest in visiting the United States, with which I was but imperfectly acquainted from written accounts. My eyes and ears were open to every thing I saw or heard; and though I met with a people whose manners and customs differed but little from those of

my own countrymen, yet there was a novelty in many things which arrested my attention, and was not always unworthy of notice.

The result of my labours I now lay before the public, and trust that their liberality and candour will make allowances for the errors and deficiencies of a first attempt. If I have been too prolix in some things, it has been occasioned by a desire to impart all the information which I considered useful or interesting, and by looking upon a variety of subjects, new to me, with more interest perhaps than they really deserved. If I may have said but little upon other subjects, it is because much has been before said of them, and I wished only to touch most upon such things as were possessed of the greatest degree of novelty or importance; not but that it is a difficult task to speak only of what others have omitted; for, as Dr. Johnson truly observes, "to oblige the most fertile genius to say only what is *new*, would be to contract his volumes to a very few pages."

In the course of my tour through Lower

Canada, and part of the United States, my object has been to describe the people as I found them; to remove the veil of unjust prejudice, and the gloss of flattery. If in some places it may be supposed that I have spoken with too much freedom, I can only say, that it is the freedom of truth; yet, where truth has obliged me to speak freely, I have done it only from a consciousness of its being of public utility, and not from a desire to hurt the feelings of any individual. In expressing my opinion of such things as offered themselves to my notice, I hope that I shall not be accused of presumption by those who may differ from me: we are all anxious to learn the thoughts of each other, and a man writes to little purpose who is afraid of speaking his real sentiments. A traveller who visits foreign nations should bring home that knowledge and information which may be of service to his own country; such as may supply some want, or mitigate some evil: but he would ill perform the duty incumbent upon him, were he servilely to flatter the errors and pre-

judices, which he should endeavour to correct.

Amidst the variety of manners and dispositions which distinguish the natives of every country, a stranger meets with characters of all descriptions, and often of the most contradictory nature. Hence, even his own opinions are, at times, rendered almost irreconcileable; and he himself is at a loss how to judge of the people whom he wishes to describe. In most countries there are certain traits and peculiarities in the natives, which may, in some measure, form what is called a national character; yet to designate a people thus indiscriminately, is as erroneous in judgement, as to sum up the total of a man's disposition from particular lineaments of his countenance. If, therefore, opposite qualities are found, and seemingly contradictory characters displayed, in the people whom I have attempted to delineate, they are such as characterize human nature more or less: for perfection is unattainable in this life; and virtue may predominate where vice exists.

Upon the same principle, every country has its advantages and defects; and whether it be the frozen deserts of the Eskimaux, or the luxurious plains of the Italian, each prefers that country which gave him birth. Hence, while I acknowledged and admired the *easy independence and happiness* of the Canadians, the *rising prosperity and freedom* of the Americans, I could not look back on the country I had left, without sentiments of greater veneration and attachment than any I had before felt. I compared the advantages and defects which each country possessed, and the result was decidedly in favour of my own.

I have considered it indispensable to say thus much in explanation of my sentiments, not for the purpose of laying claim to merit which I do not deserve, but because I venture before the public as a stranger, whose principles are unknown, and may therefore be misconceived. As to the work itself, I submit it to the impartial judgement of the public, with the utmost deference to their opinion, by which it must stand or fall.

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TRAVELS,

&c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

Passage to the Grand Bank—Fine Weather—Trepassé Bay—Newfoundland—Description of that Island—Dearness of Provisions—Gale of Wind—Alarming Night—Capt. Cook's Charts—Dreadful Shipwreck—Uncertainty of a Sailor's Life—The protecting Power of a Supreme Being—Magdalen Islands—Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin—Passage through the Gulf—Island of Anticosti—Father Point—Facetious Pilot—Confession of the Ladies—Cannot keep a Secret—Story of the Priest and the Bible—Arrival at Quebec—Beautiful Appearance of that City and the surrounding Country.

Our passage to the Banks of Newfoundland was not attended with any remarkable circumstance. We met with the usual squalls and gales so frequent on the Atlantic Ocean in the fall of

the year, and the winds were sufficiently capricious to give me a tolerable notion of traverse sailing.

I was told that we should certainly meet with very foggy weather on the Banks, and have to ring the ship's bell, and rattle our tin kettles, to prevent being run down by other vessels: but to the surprise of all on board we had finer weather on the Grand Bank, than we had experienced during the passage. Not the least haze was visible, and the sea, for a day or two, was as calm and as smooth as a canal. We caught about a dozen cod, and should have taken many more, had not an easterly breeze sprung up and wafted us over the Bank. The season for fishing being over, we did not meet with a single vessel; all around us was therefore a clear expanse of sky and water, and we the centre of our heavenly arch and liquid plain. I shall not detain my readers with a long account of the mode of catching fish, and other peculiarities of this immense Bank, as they have been repeatedly mentioned by every writer of voyages, who has sailed over or near it since the days of Cabot.

The first land we made was Trepassé Bay, on the south coast of Newfoundland, in the afternoon of the 11th October. Our reckoning must have been remarkably correct, as we were within two hours sail of the spot laid down on the Cap-

tain's chart, and which agreed exactly with the bearings of the coast. We stood a considerable way into the bay, the shores of which are bold and rugged. As it was the first portion of the New World that regaled my eyes after a tedious passage, it was on that account doubly acceptable; and, barren as it appeared, I gazed on it with pleasure, while my imagination wandered from the trifling privations and difficulties of my own voyage, to those which the great Columbus encountered in search of a new hemisphere.

Newfoundland is an immense island, abounding with numerous harbours, some of which are very capacious, and extend a great distance into the country; but the interior having never been perfectly explored, the greatest part of the island remains an unknown wilderness. A small part only is cultivated, and even that scarcely repays the labour of the husbandman. Potatoes and a few other vegetables, are all that the soil is capable of producing in any perfection; for the season is too short for wheat, and oats seldom ripen. In May the winter breaks up, and till September the air is temperate. During this period vegetation is rapid; but the poverty of the soil is such, that it requires a supply of manure to produce what, in other countries, would be regarded as very inadequate to the trouble and expense bestowed upon it. Small quantities of hay are

made, but of an indifferent quality. St. John's is the capital town of the island, and the place where all the fish caught on the Banks is dried, and packed up for Europe. The streets are narrow and dirty, the buildings low and inelegant. Every other kind of provision, but fish, is scarce and dear. The town is supplied with poultry, meat, and vegetables, by the Canadians and Americans, who are sure to find a good market for their productions. A turkey often sells for a guinea, and a leg of mutton for fifteen shillings. In short, the situation of the inhabitants at St. John's seems very much to resemble that of the people of St. Helena; and were it not for the abundant supply of fish, which is procured at both those places, their fare would be extremely scanty. At St. Helena, the inhabitants are allowed fresh meat only four times a year; and no man is permitted to kill a sheep or an ox of his own, without an order from the Governor. The inhabitants of Newfoundland are robust and healthy, and though enveloped the greatest part of the year in the dense vapours of the Grand Bank, yet possess the jolly, ruddy countenance of the English; which thus seems to be congenial with a foggy atmosphere. The women are said to be extremely prolific; but, as Sterne says, 'There is nothing wonderful in that, since it may be accounted for in the principles of their diet.'

The bleak and rugged shores of Newfoundland impress their beholders with no favourable opinion of the country; while the boldness of the coast, and the raging of the ocean, make them tremble for their safety. The night we passed between Cape Ray and the island of St. Paul was pregnant with danger and alarm. It blew a gale of wind; and such was the darkness of the night, that even if the vessel had been driven ashore, I question whether we should have seen the land. Four days had elapsed since our departure from Trepassé Bay, during which time no observation could be taken, in consequence of the fogs and hazy weather that prevail upon the Small Banks, over which we had been sailing. By the Captain's reckoning, we were within a few miles of Cape Ray; and though we had every reason to be satisfied with its correctness, yet few on board could easily divest themselves of their apprehensions. We were going at the rate of twelve miles an hour before the wind, and a fault in the compass, or the want of a light in the binnacle, might in less than twenty minutes have proved our destruction. Fortunately, the gale was in our favour; but the howling of the wind, and the beating of the sea over the stern of the vessel, were far from alleviating the uneasiness we felt at being unable to ascertain our distance from land. Upon deck all was 'pitchy darkness,' while we

flew through the water with amazing velocity, uncertain of our situation. We however assembled in the cabin, and employed ourselves, during the night, in looking over the charts of the coast; and it was some satisfaction to see the name of Captain Cook engraved upon them, having been taken from surveys made by that enterprising navigator soon after the conquest of Quebec.

It is most likely that we should have been much easier, had not the circumstance of a transport with troops on board being wrecked on Cape Ray the year before, presented itself in frightful colours to our imaginations. That vessel, in company with several others, was going from Halifax to Quebec in the month of October, 1805; but encountering a violent gale of wind, nearly in the same place as we then were passing, she was driven ashore on Cape Ray, and Major Bertram, with upwards of two hundred officers and soldiers belonging to the 100dth regiment, lost their lives. Those who escaped from the wreck found themselves in the midst of a dreary forest, far from any human habitation. Some of them endeavoured to reach the nearest settlement along the coast, but they perished in the attempt. A few only, who remained behind, survived to tell the melancholy tale. They were taken off a considerable time after by a vessel that heard of their distress, and carried them to Quebec; but

in such an emaciated state, that they have never yet recovered from the effects of that disaster.

Our apprehensions were therefore not without some foundation: fortunately, however, they were dispelled as the dawn of day broke through the chaotic darkness of the night, and we found that we had passed within a very short distance of our so much dreaded Cape.

How chequered is the life of a seaman! and what a variety of dangers and hardships does he encounter! One moment he is basking in all the security of a clear sky and unruffled ocean—the next, he is tossed about at the mercy of the winds and waves, expecting every moment to be his last. At the best of times, there is but a short distance between him and the grave, and a thousand dangers menace him, of which the landsman has no conception, and of which he himself is often unaware. Yet though he is thus continually sailing on the brink of destruction, he frequently is the most careless being in existence; and it is astonishing that he so seldom suffers from that danger into which his own thoughtlessness repeatedly precipitates him. Notwithstanding, however, that apparent levity and carelessness which distinguish the sailor's character, he has perhaps a higher notion of the Supreme Being, than those who pass the whole of their lives on shore; and

I have often found more real piety under his rough husk, than under the smooth exterior of him who professed greater devotion. Indeed, it is almost impossible for a man to traverse such an immense expanse of ocean, and not have a lively sense of the protecting power of an Almighty Being, whose care and attention are for ever extended to the very meanest of his creatures. Yet his ways are inscrutable, and far beyond the reach of human comprehension: for while some are rescued from destruction in a marvellous manner, others are doomed to perish by the most simple means. The guilty too are often saved, while the innocent are lost: and some people live in uninterrupted prosperity and happiness, while others, who perhaps appear to us more deserving, are exposed to a series of misery and disasters, seemingly incompatible with an impartial distribution of divine justice.

After passing Cape Ray, we entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and about noon were in sight of the Magdalen Islands. The wind changing, we were obliged to run down along the coast of these Islands, which presents the same dreary view as the coast of Newfoundland, though not so bold and lofty. At this season of the year, the trees with which these islands, and the mountains and rugged shores of Newfoundland, were covered,

had lost their verdant foliage, and presented nothing to the eye but the brown and gloomy tint of barrenness.

The Magdalen Islands, situated near the entrance of the Gulf, are seven in number, and belong to Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin. The number of inhabitants is about a thousand, of whom four hundred and fifty are men. Each settler pays two quintals of fish per annum to the Admiral, whose brother resides on one of the principal islands, with a collector. The latter receives 100*l.* per annum from Sir Isaac, and is also a justice of the peace. No cultivation is carried on here, except in potatoes, and that but trifling. The Americans carry on a small lucrative trade with the inhabitants, in articles chiefly contraband; and pay a certain annual sum for drying their fish on the islands. The Admiral is of a very speculative turn, and has expended a considerable sum of money in endeavouring to make these islands of some importance; but except as a depôt for the fisheries, they are not likely to become of any material consequence. The inhabitants are supplied with provisions and manufactured goods from Canada.

During the remainder of our passage through the Gulf, for nearly eight days, we experienced contrary winds and indifferent weather: nor did we meet with any thing worthy of particular re-

mark. Whales, porpoises, and seals, were all that we saw of the aquatic tribe; and of the feathered race we saw only wild geese, ducks, and gulls. We had but a distant view of the island of Anticosti, which separates the mouth of the river St. Lawrence into two channels, as we kept close over to the shores of Gaspé and Cape Rosieres, along which we coasted for four days, until we arrived off Cape Chat. The island of Anticosti is of very considerable size, being one hundred and twenty miles long, and thirty broad. The French formerly had a settlement on this island, but at present it is uninhabited; nor can it ever become of much importance, as it does not possess a single harbour where a vessel can ride in safety. The wood which grows upon it is small, and the soil is reckoned unfruitful; which, added to the severity of the winter, will ever prove serious obstacles to its colonization.

On the 23rd October we took a pilot on board off Father Point, about 200 miles below Quebec. This place is inhabited chiefly by pilots, who, by a regulation of the Trinity House at Quebec, are restricted from going further down the river to meet ships. Formerly they were in the habit of cruizing as far as Chaleur Bay; but, to prevent an enemy taking advantage of them, they were not allowed to board vessels below Father Point. Indeed they are not absolutely wanted before, as

the navigation is very clear and open to that place. We had a very good view of this little settlement, which is extremely pretty: and the white cottages of the Canadians scattered over the cleared land, which appeared neatly fenced in, had a very pleasing effect, amidst such a wild and dreary scene as the surrounding country presented, of trackless forests, and gloomy mountains.

Our pilot, Louis Le Clair, was an old French Canadian, possessed, like the rest of his countrymen, of a tolerable opinion of himself; yet was a good-humoured, friendly fellow. It was not long before we found that his predilection for the clergy was not excessive. He entertained us with many of his whimsical opinions, and declared, that for his own part, he never went to confession, though he allowed his wife and daughters to go. "Women," says he, "can never be happy until they let out their secrets, and on that account it is necessary they should have a confessor; I therefore pay him his fees, which is only justice: but for myself I consider it all as a mere farce; and it must be so, since the women say that they only tell the priests a part, and conceal the rest."—A few years ago the pilot picked up an English Bible, which had been thrown ashore from the wreck of a ship: as he understood the language, he read it through,

and it opened his eyes so much, that he could not forbear, soon after, disputing with his curé upon certain points of religion. The latter was much surprised to find him so knowing, and inquired how he had obtained his information; upon which the old man showed him the Bible. The priest declared it was not a fit book for him to read, and desired he would give it into his charge. This the pilot refused, and the curé threatened to write to the bishop and have him excommunicated as a heretic: but finding that neither threats nor entreaties had any effect, he was necessitated to request that he would keep it to himself, and not let any of his neighbours know that he had such a book. The old pilot declared that he considered the finding of that Bible the happiest event of his life, in consequence of the comfort and consolation which he derived from perusing it.

Our passage up the river was extremely pleasant; the weather was fine; and the shores studded with white farm-houses, and neat churches, contrasted with the cultivated lands, and the surrounding scenery of islands and mountains covered with immense forests, formed a succession of the most beautiful and sublime landscapes.

On entering the basin formed by the shores of Point Levi and the Island of Orleans, the view of Quebec and the surrounding country suddenly

arrests the attention of the spectator, and displays, at once, an assemblage of every thing that is grand and beautiful. In the front is seen an immense projecting rock, covered with houses, churches, and warehouses, of stone, rising gradually one above another in the form of an amphitheatre: above these are the glittering spires of the cathedrals, convents, and other religious buildings, whose refulgence dazzles the eye; while below is seen a crowd of shipping, whose masts sink into insignificance against the mountain which towers above them. On the left is Point Levi, adorned with its little cluster of houses, and neat church, which, as the vessel moves along, emerges gradually out of a thick wood. To the right, is the fruitful island of Orleans, with its neat dwellings, cultivated slopes, high grounds, and its yet uncultivated forests. Beyond, is the majestic chasm of Montmorency, and its snow white falls, seen in an opening upon the elevated shores of Beauport, which rise in the form of terraces, until they reach the huge and lofty mountains that form the back ground, and extend far beyond the ken of mortal vision. It was the most beautiful combination of scenery I had ever beheld; and the vessel had come to an anchor off the town, before I quitted the contemplation of such a variety of charming objects.

CHAPTER II.

Hire of Houses at Quebec—Roofs—Chimney-sweepers—Narrow Streets of the Lower Town—Cape Diamond—Dreadful Accidents—Mountain-street—Steep Ascent—Breakneck Stairs—Singular Escape of a Boy—Canadian Stores—Taverns—Union Hotel—Irish Landlord—General Montgomery's Attack on Quebec—Sudden Defeat and Death—Application to the Canadian Government for his Bones—General Arnold—Intendant's Palace.

The season of the year in which we arrived, was by no means favourable for procuring good lodgings at Quebec. Houses are seldom to be obtained except in the month of May, when the term for which they are taken expires; besides this, the House of Assembly was to meet shortly, and the influx of its members, from different parts of the country, rendered it very difficult to procure either a house or apartment. We were therefore obliged to be contented with a very indifferent house in Champlain-street, one of the most disagreeable parts of the Lower Town. The building itself had nothing to recommend it to

our favour, and the situation was extremely repulsive. It was some consolation, however, to have Mr. Mure, one of the most distinguished merchants in Quebec, as our next door neighbour; the house we occupied belonged to that gentleman, who also owned an extensive wharf and range of large store-houses adjoining.

The houses in Quebec are, with few exceptions, built of stone; the roofs of the better sort are generally covered with sheets of iron, or tin, and those of an inferior description with clap-boards. Shingles have been prohibited; though many old buildings have them. In case of fire, the burning shingles, scattered about by the wind, spread the destructive flames to a great extent: it was the danger apprehended on this account, that caused the provincial parliament to prohibit, in future, the covering of houses with them; but the boarded roofs which are at present chiefly in use, are equally dangerous in catching fire, though perhaps not so likely to communicate it to distant parts of the town. On the roofs of the houses, two or three ladders are placed near the garret windows, for the purpose of assisting the chimney-sweepers to get on the roof, and clean the chimneys. Boys do not go up as in England, but two men perform the work with a bundle of twigs, or furze, tied to a rope, which they pull up and down till the chimney is sufficiently clean;

one man goes upon the roof, and the other remains below: a similar mode is practised in Scotland.

The streets of the Lower Town, with the exception of two or three in the vicinity of the market-place, are scarcely deserving of that appellation; they are rugged, narrow, and irregular, and can be compared only to the dirtiest lanes of London. St. Peter's-street is the best paved and widest of the Lower Town: it contains several good substantial houses, which are chiefly occupied by the principal merchants and traders. It has a very gloomy appearance; yet the attention of foot passengers is constantly kept alive by the continual noise and bustle of the carters, whose vehicles are drawn up on one side of the street, near the market-place, for the purpose of being hired: carts are therefore continually on the move along this street; and the adjoining wharfs afford them constant occupation in the summer season, during which period this place is a complete Thames-street.

The Lower Town is built along the base of the mountain by the water side, extending on the south as far as L'Ance des Mères, and to the north as far as the suburbs of St. Rocque, a length of nearly two miles. That part which comprises the market-place, St. Peter's street, and the wharfs adjacent which extend a considerable

Cape Diamond and part of the Lower Town of Quebec.

way into the river, is the widest part of the Lower Town, and the chief seat of commerce. The extremities are very little more than narrow lanes, winding round the foot of the stupendous rock, upon the summit of which the Upper Town is situated. The highest part of this rock is on the south towards L'Ance des Mères, and is called Cape Diamond, in consequence of a considerable number of transparent quartz crystals, resembling diamonds, being found between the fissures and cracks of what is regularly called "black lime slate," of which the rock consists.

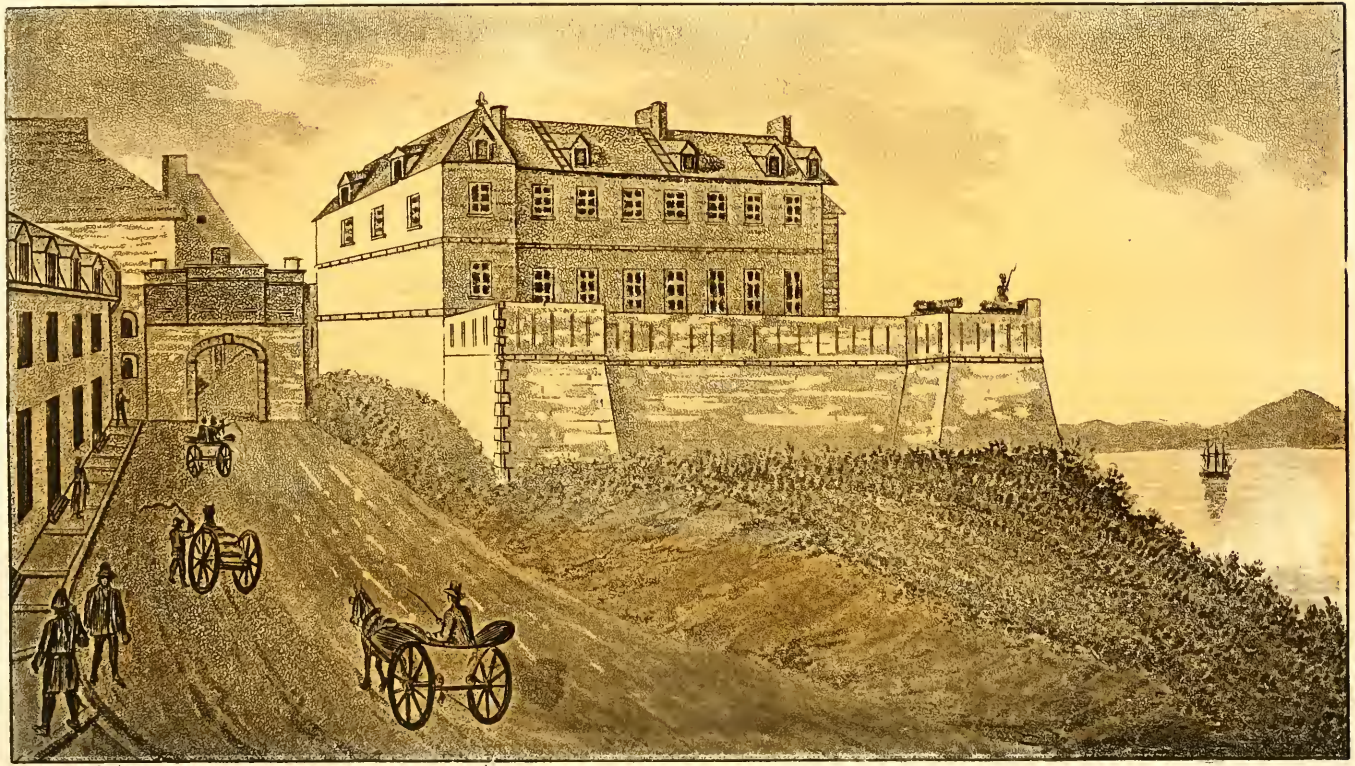
Cape Diamond is stated by Mr. Weld, in his Travels, to be upwards of one thousand feet above the level of the river: this account is, however, extremely erroneous; its utmost height being only three hundred and fifty feet perpendicular, which an officer of the engineers informed me was the actual measurement. From this altitude it subsides, towards the northern extremity, into a height of little more than two hundred and fifty feet. The aspect of this immense body of rock is steep, and rugged; in several places it projects in a very dangerous manner over the houses of the Lower Town, and has occasioned many serious accidents. In the winter time the fissures and cavities of the rock are filled up with snow, which as it freezes into ice expands beyond its usual bounds, and splits many of the

projecting parts into fragments; these are loosened by the warm sun of March and April, and often precipitated upon the unwary passenger below.

While I remained at Quebec in the spring of 1807, one man was killed upon the spot, and several others had their arms, legs, or thighs broken by these loose fragments. It has long been a cause of general complaint, that the rock has not been shaped so as to prevent such serious accidents. It is hardly possible, at present, to walk in certain parts of the Lower Town in safety during the thaw which takes place in the spring. Along the end of Sault au Matelot-street, Canotrie, and some other parts of Champlain-street, the houses are built within a few feet of the rock; leaving barely room enough for a cart to pass.

The heavy sameness which pervades all the houses in Quebec, is seldom relieved by any beauty or elegance in the public buildings. The Lower Town is, in this respect, particularly deficient. It contains but one small church, of mean appearance, situated in the market-place, and belonging to the Catholics: it is called the church of Notre Dame, and was founded in consequence of a vow made during the siege of Quebec in 1690, and dedicated to "Our Lady of Victory."

The street leading to the Upper Town, called Mountain-street, winds in a serpentine direction from the market-place, up the hill; passes through



J. Lambert del.

View of Prescot Gate, and the Bishop's Palace, on the top of Mountain Street, Quebec.

Prescot-gate, and terminates near the French cathedral, within a short distance of the Upper Town market-place. In its present winding form, it is very steep, and requires strength to ascend it. The little Canadian horses have a laborious task to drag up the heavy loads which their masters impose upon them. The carts used in Quebec are light, and usually drawn by one horse; their loads are not excessive, when drawing upon even ground; but the carters seldom make any allowance up Mountain-street, though half the ordinary load is more than their horse can manage; and they are obliged to make frequent stoppages on their way up.

For a pedestrian, it is very fatiguing, if his business requires a frequent intercourse between the upper and lower towns; otherwise, I conceive that two or three excursions up this hill in the course of a day are extremely conducive to health, and I believe the benefit of them is generally felt by the inhabitants. This hill is not paved more than half way, the upper part, I suppose, being thought too steep for that purpose: if that is the case, I do not, however, see the necessity of keeping the foot-paths and the road in such a rugged state: Mountain-street requires more attention than any other in Quebec, yet it is neglected the most. In winter time it is extremely dangerous; the quantity of snow and ice, which

accumulate in large masses, renders it absolutely necessary for the inhabitants to provide themselves with outer shoes shod with iron spikes or creepers. These they call *goloshoes*, and are most frequently used in the fall or spring of the year, when it generally freezes and thaws in succession for two or three weeks. After the snow is well settled on the ground, and it becomes dry walking, they make use of Shetland hose and list shoes, which are worn over their boots and shoes, and have the effect of keeping the feet both warm and dry, while they prevent them slipping about.

There is another communication between the two towns. This is by a long flight of steps, from the head of Champlain-street up to Mountain-street, nearly opposite Neilson's printing-office, which is situate about half way up the hill. This communication saves foot passengers a considerable round by the foot of the hill, which the winding of the street would otherwise occasion: by these steps they ascend into the Upper Town in a few seconds. In the winter, however, this is a very dangerous place, particularly if the people who reside in the houses on each side neglect to keep the stairs clear from the ice and snow. Many a person has made a somerset from top to bottom, or, missing the first step, has slid down upon his back the whole length of the stairs. The frequency of such accidents has given

occasion to the inhabitants to style them Breakneck stairs; certainly a very appropriate and expressive title.

During the winter of 1807, I one day saw a little boy in a small sleigh, in which was a dog completely harnessed, driving with great rapidity down the hill from Prescot-gate, and endeavouring to keep the dog (who was turning off every now and then) in the proper road. Just as they came to Breakneck stairs, the dog, I suppose, considering that to be the shortest way into the Lower Town, bolted out of his course, and down he went with the boy and sleigh at his heels. I immediately ran to the head of the stairs, expecting that the boy's neck was broke, but was most agreeably surprised to find that the dog had carried him safe down, without even upsetting the sleigh. The boy kept his seat, but hollaed most lustily. On recovering from his fright, he smacked his whip over the dog's back, and turned the corner of a house at the bottom of the stairs, with as much apparent dexterity as some of our *noble coachmen* would have displayed in turning Hyde Park Corner.

The boys at Quebec have also a peculiar amusement in the winter season, of laying themselves at full length, with their breast upon a small sleigh, and sliding down from the top of the hill to the bottom: they glide along with surprising

velocity, yet can guide, and stop themselves with their feet, at pleasure. A few years ago, one of them amusing himself in this way, and neglecting to stop in time, was dashed against a house at the turning near the printing-office, and killed upon the spot.

The shops, or stores, of the traders in the Lower Town do not exhibit that diversified and pleasing exhibition which is seen in London, of bow windows crowded with every description of goods, from the most trifling article of domestic manufacture, to the most costly productions of foreign countries. Here the stranger sees nothing but heavy stone buildings, gloomy casements, and iron-cased shutters painted red. If any show is made at the window, it is with paltry articles of crockery, earthen, and hardware: on one side may be seen pans, mugs, tea-cups and saucers, tureens, and *pots de chambre:* on the other, saws, files, knives and forks, jars, pots, hammers, and axes. These, with a tolerable display of bear-skins, seal-skins, foxes' tails, and buffalo robes, form the invariable exhibition of a Canadian store. Even the British store-keepers make little or no show of their goods; and the merchants, all of whom have stores and warehouses for the disposal of their commodities, by wholesale or retail, content themselves with advertising every week, "their few pipes of London particular—

hogsheads of claret of superior quality—fine old port—prime French brandy—superfine flour—capital pickled pork and salmon—excellent muscovado—good pine and oak timber, pine boards and heading, all for cash or short notes."

The French store-keepers purchase their goods mostly at the auctions, where they sometimes buy things very cheap; but in general, I believe, they pay more than they would at the merchants' stores, independent of the time they lose in attending the sale. The cargo of a vessel that was lost in the river St. Lawrence, in 1807, was sold by auction at Quebec, in a damaged state: it amounted to upwards of *sixty thousand pounds;* and, I am told, cleared more than ten per cent. profit upon the prime cost. The eagerness of the people to purchase at auctions, and the number of sales that takes place every week, considerably lessen the trade of the regular store-keepers, and render the profession of the auctioneers extremely lucrative: they are already numerous in Quebec, and contrive to realise very handsome incomes: they receive two and a half per cent. on large sales, and five per cent. upon the smaller ones.

The taverns in Quebec are very numerous, and yet a stranger is much surprised to find, on his arrival, only two houses which deserve that high-sounding name. This arises from the vanity that has taken possession of all our Transatlantic bre-

thren, from the confines of Florida to the coast of Labrador, to designate their paltry public-houses, or spirit-shops, by the more sonorous and dignified title of *Taverns*. Every little dirty hole, where a few glasses of rum, gin, or whiskey, are sold, is a *Tavern*. The better sort are of course *Hôtels;* and so ignorant are the painters who bedaub their signs, that the "*Ship Tavren*," *Such-a-one's* "*Tavernne*," constantly meet your eye. Some few French Canadians keep to the good old titles of "*Auberge*," and "*Aubergiste*," and now and then take care to inform the public in bad French orthography, that they sell their liquors,

"Aujourd'hui pour l'argent,
Demain pour rien."

The only taverns or hotels in Quebec that are really respectable, are the Union Hotel on the Parade near the Governor's chateau, and Sturch's in John-street. The Union Hotel, formerly kept by a half-pay officer of the name of Holmes, now proprietor of Hamilton's Tavern at Montreal, was built by a subscription raised among the principal merchants and inhabitants of Quebec. Though the shares were only twenty-five pounds, yet it was a considerable time before a sufficient sum was raised to complete the building, which appears to have been planned with little judgement.

The whole house comprises only four large rooms. On the ground floor is a coffee-room, much too large for the company who frequent it, and two dining-rooms. The other apartment is above them, and has been fitted up for a ball-room: it contains a good orchestra, and other requisites for the assemblies and concerts which are held there in the winter season. This is the only part of the plan that has been laid out with success; for the room is lofty and extensive, well furnished, and excellently adapted for its intended purposes. A small house at the back of, and adjoining to, the new building, has been converted into bed-chambers, kitchens, and apartments for the master of the hotel; but not more than twenty or thirty persons can be accommodated with beds, though, from appearances, the house ought to contain accommodation for four times that number.

The principal support of the house, at first, was by an annual subscription of two guineas; all who chose to pay that sum were entitled to frequent the coffee-room, but no others: this disgusted a great many of the original subscribers, who refused to contribute beyond their share of twenty-five pounds; in consequence of which it was laid aside, and the room thrown open to all without distinction. Matters were, however, but little improved by this proceeding; for it com-

pelled the gentry and principal merchants to keep away, because it hurt their pride to mix with the plebeians.

About three hundred yards from our residence, in Champlain-street, the American General Montgomery perished in his attempt to surprise the Lower Town, in the early part of the American war. Several persons have claimed the merit of having defeated that enterprise: it is generally thought to have been effected by a detachment of soldiers and sailors; yet I have heard it positively asserted; that no regular military force was near the spot at the time the attack commenced; but that at the moment General Montgomery and his party were passing, in apparent security, along the foot of the rock, where there was then only a very narrow path, a brisk fire of musketry, and a piece of cannon, immediately opened upon their flank, out of the window of a small house, situated at the water's edge, where a small party of the inhabitants and a few sailors had posted themselves.

The suprise and alarm which this unexpected attack created, together with a heavy fall of snow, under cover of which General Montgomery had commenced his march, threw the Americans into confusion; and seeing their general, his two aides-du-camp, and a number of men, killed by the first fire, they retreated in the greatest dis-

order. The general's body, in which no less than eleven balls were found, was carried into the town, and buried within the fortification, near the citadel.—No stone or monument distinguishes his grave; but the place is remarkable, being within the walls which inclose a powder-magazine, and was pointed out to me by Colonel Glasgow of the artillery.

A man of the name of M'Quarter, who keeps a tavern in Champlain-street, has the credit of being the person who resided in the house, and headed the small party that so suddenly stopped the progress of General Montgomery, by their brisk fire from the window. I know not how far this account may be entitled to belief, amidst the various contradictory statements that I have heard; but more credit is generally given to it than to any other. An extensive brewery is now situated nearly upon the spot where that memorable affair took place.

Arnold, the other American general, made his attack upon the Upper Town, Mr. Weld has said at St. John's Gate; which occasions him to remark upon the absurdity of Arnold's attacking one of the strongest parts of the fortification. This, I have been informed, was not the case, but that he made his attack in person upon that part now called Hope's Gate, leading to St. Rocque's Suburb, at that time merely a barrier

of picketing. Two or three other places were, however, attacked at the same time; and it is most likely that a feint was made at St. John's Gate, as well as at Palace Gate: but the points where Arnold principally depended for success were the place where he attacked in person, and at a picket guard, now called Prescot Gate, a short distance from the top of Mountain-street, which commands the entrance into the Lower Town. This barrier is now strongly fortified, and surmounted with a kind of block-house, with loop-holes for musketry, beneath which is an archway of stone secured with double gates. On one side of the gate are embrasures, with two pieces of cannon of large calibre; on the other are powerful works of stone, within which is situated a large building, called the Bishop's Palace: it was formerly the abode of the French catholic bishop; but at present it is occupied for public offices on one side, and for the house of assembly, legislative and executive councils, on the other.

It is generally thought that Arnold would have succeeded in entering with his party, had he not been wounded. The Americans kept possession of the Lower Town for three or four days after the attack. Many of them sheltered themselves from the fire of the garrison in a large stone building, called the Intendant's Palace, situated just without the walls adjoining the suburb of St. Rocque.

In the time of the French government, it was the residence of the intendant, an officer of secondary rank to the governor, though frequently possessed of much greater power and influence. For some time this building was spared by the garrison; but finding the Americans annoyed them very much with their rifles, being defended only by a wooden picketing along the rock, they soon reduced it to a heap of ruins, and compelled the Americans to shift their quarters.

In this state the building remains at this day: but massy stone walls have been erected upon the opposite rock where the picketing formerly stood; and loop-holes for musketry are left at short distances, so that in future the garrison can never be annoyed in that quarter, except by heavy artillery, an article which the Americans did not possess, and without which it is the very height of folly to attempt to besiege Quebec.

The house of the intendant was called the Palace, because the council of the French government of North America was held there. It was a very handsome stone building, and contained several large, elegant apartments, which were furnished with magnificence and splendour. To the northward there was a spacious garden, well stocked with every variety of fruit-trees, shrubs, plants, &c. On one side of the court-yard were placed the king's stores, and on the other the

prison. In this house all the deliberations concerning the province were held, and those magistrates who had the management of the police and civil power also met here. The intendant generally presided, but in affairs of importance the governor-general was present. This building had been burnt down no less than three times, previous to its demolition in the American war. The walls are all that are now left of it, and it is not likely that it will ever be rebuilt.

CHAPTER III.

Origin of the Name of Quebec—Its strong natural Situation and Advantages—Capability of Defence in case of War with the United States—Origin of the War between the Iroquois and Algonquins—Impolitic Conduct of Champlain—Fortifications of Quebec—Expedition of Sir William Phipps—New Improvements—Martello Towers—Wolfe's Cove—Battle of the Plains of Abraham—Death of General Wolfe—Ingratitude of his Countrymen in Canada—Statue in St. John's Street—Garrison Troops—Colonel Glasgow Commandant—Inspecting Field Officers of the Canadian Militia.

THE name of Quebec is said to have originated from the Norman language, and that one of the persons who accompanied M. de Champlain in his expedition up the river, on his arriving in sight of the peninsula formed by the rivers St. Lawrence and St. Charles, exclaimed "Quelbec!" "What a point!"—Others, however, assert that the name is derived from the Algonquin word Quebeio or Quebec, which signifies *contraction,* because the St. Lawrence becomes con-

tracted between Quebec and Point Levi, where it is scarcely three quarters of a mile across, which is very narrow when compared with other parts of the river. The Abenaquis word Quelibec, signifying *shut up*, has also been thought to have given rise to the name, because the Abenaquis Indians, who lived over at Claudiere, about three leagues from Quebec, coming from thence, could see nothing of the two channels formed by the island of Orleans, that to the southward being hid by Point Levi, and the northern one by the island. The port of Quebec, thus inclosed, appears like a great bay or lake.

From which of these three languages the name of Quebec has originated, is yet undecided; though I think the Algonquin word has a preference over the Norman, because the language of the Algonquins, at one time the most powerful nation in Canada, was universally spoken by the Indians of that country. The Abenaquis expression Quelibec, is nothing more than a corruption of the Algonquin Quebeio or Quebec: this is the more evident, as their significations are nearly synonymous. Another reason why I think the Indian appellation was more likely to have originated the name than the Norman, is the improbability that M. de Champlain should have denominated that remarkable spot, where he afterwards built a city, merely from the casual excla-

mation of one of his men. It is most likely that he preserved the Indian name, as he did in several other places; not wishing, perhaps, totally to destroy the only vestige of *antiquity* that he found in the country. The rage for altering ancient names was as prevalent in his age as it is in ours; and kings, princes, and saints, received their full share of that species of honour. It is not probable, therefore, that Champlain would have neglected such an excellent opportunity as the foundation of a new city afforded him, of honouring the memory of some favourite saint, king, or prince of the blood royal, without some better reason than that one of his attendants exclaimed "*What a point!*" The near affinity, however, of the Norman expression to the Indian name, has no doubt furnished the Jesuit missionaries with a plausible pretext for their assertion.

The strong natural situation of Quebec, and the apparent strength of its fortifications, have led many people to look upon it as another Gibraltar. Nothing however can be more erroneous. Within these few years, great additions and improvements have certainly been made, which have strengthened many of its former weak points: but there yet remains much to accomplish before it ever can rank even second to that celebrated fortress. Nature has, indeed, done more for it than art will ever accomplish. Besides its local

advantages, it is separated by immense forests and rivers from an invading army of the United States, the only country from which Quebec has any thing to dread while it remains in the hands of the English. An expedition from France will never be undertaken, while we keep possession of the ocean.

Should a war ever take place between Great Britain and the United States, it is more than probable that the latter would attempt to conquer Canada. Their great object would be to drive us from the American continent, as much as to obtain an equivalent in the event of peace. Great exertions would undoubtedly be made; and an immense army transported across Lake Champlain would most likely carry all before it, till it arrived in the neighbourhood of Quebec. The difficulty of bringing with it a large battering train would, I think, prove insurmountable; and without that all their attempts to get possession of the city must fail, provided the works were well manned. As long as we retain the capital in our hands the country can never be conquered; it may be overrun and desolated; but the enemy must eventually retreat, if we keep up any tolerable force of regulars and militia.

When the French first settled in Canada, their only object of defence was against the hostile tribes of Indians, who committed continual de-

predations upon their persons and property. The harassing and destructive attacks which those savages made upon the new settlers, compelled the latter to fortify their different posts, and for upwards of a century the annals of Canada present a continued scene of warfare between the French and Iroquois: an unceasing round of treachery, cruelty, and bloodshed. On Champlain's arrival in Canada, he found the Iroquois at war with the Hurons, Algonquins, and other Indian nations. How long the contest had continued was unknown, but it was generally thought to have existed for many years; its origin only could be learnt from the Indians. It arose in the following manner: the Algonquins, who are now extirpated, were formerly the greatest hunters and warriors in Canada: the Iroquois, on the contrary, followed agricultural and domestic pursuits; and being of course liable to the attacks of those Indian nations who were of a more warlike disposition, they, in order to live in security, entered into a confederacy with the Algonquins, by which it was stipulated that the produce of the harvests and the chase should be mutually divided between both parties: the Iroquois were also to perform the more menial duties of domestic life, as flaying the animals caught in the chase, preparing the food, &c. in return for which the Algonquins were to defend them from the violence

of other Indian nations. This compact lasted for an unknown length of time; till the Iroquois imbibing a portion of the Algonquin courage and intrepidity, some of their young men ventured to enter into a competition with a party of the young Algonquins. The pride of the latter was alarmed, and they bade the Iroquois to stay at home and flay the beasts which *they* would kill. The Algonquin boasters went out to hunt, but in two or three days returned home unsuccessful; upon which the young Iroquois stole out at night, and the next day came home laden with the animals which they had killed in their excursion. This daring enterprise provoked the others almost to madness; and they soon after took an opportunity to murder their rivals.

The Iroquois nation immediately resented this outrage, and demanded that the murderers should be delivered into their hands: this was refused by the Algonquins, who knowing their own power, treated the others with contempt. The Iroquois however swore eternal enmity, and were determined to be revenged. For this purpose they removed to the opposite side of the river St. Lawrence, and settled on the spot where the remains of their nation yet reside. From that period open war commenced between the two nations; and the Algonquins, as might naturally be expected, being then the most renowned, were joined

by the smaller nations, as the Hurons, the Abenaquis, &c. The Iroquois however had no sooner tasted blood, than their prowess became irresistible; and at the time of Champlain's arrival, they were greatly superior in courage and military skill to their former masters, whom they had nearly exterminated. The conduct of these two rude and unpolished nations may afford a serious lesson to their more civilised brethren, as it shows that though a people may be degraded into a state of slavery, yet the taunts and injustice of tyrannical masters may one time or other drive them to desperation, and cause them to annihilate their oppressors. It also evinces, in the example of the Algonquins, that a nation which suffers itself to relax into indolence and effeminacy, subsisting more upon the labour of its slaves than upon the industry of its own people, must sooner or later sink under the weight of feebleness and corruption; for it appears that the Algonquins had lost much of that courage and intrepidity which they possessed before their connexion with the Iroquois, of whose weakness they had taken advantage, and from allies had converted them into vassals.

Champlain committed a fatal error, when he joined the Algonquins in their war against the Iroquois. The latter then became as determined enemies of the French as they were of their old

oppressors; and to the destructive wars, in which the new settlers were afterwards involved for upwards of a century, may be attributed the little progress which they made in cultivating and improving the colony. Their fortifications were at first mere palisades or picketing, until necessity obliged them to erect works of a stronger nature. It does not appear that the fortifications of Quebec were of much importance till the year 1690, when eleven stone redoubts, which served as bastions, were erected in different parts of the heights on the Upper Town. The remains of several of these redoubts are still in existence. They were connected with each other by a strong line of cedar picketing, ten or twelve feet high, banked up with earth on the inside. This proved sufficient to resist the attacks of the hostile Indians for several years.

Quebec must have been in a very weak state in 1620, when it was captured by the English, who were looked upon as deliverers for saving the inhabitants from starvation. It is also a curious fact that the French court, at the peace of 1632, was doubtful whether they should reclaim Canada from the English or leave it in their possession, so little value did they set upon the colony at that time. Many persons were of opinion that it would prove very injurious to France to keep it; that, the cold being so intense, it could never be

rendered a profitable colony. Others, among whom was M. de Champlain, were however of a contrary opinion, and took into account the great profits that would accrue from the trade in peltry, the herring, whale, and cod-fisheries; ship-building, and the produce of its immense forests. The arguments of the latter weighed down the more confined views of the former, and the colony was recovered by France in the treaty of 1632.

In 1690 the English made an unsuccessful attempt to re-conquer Quebec; the expedition, which was commanded by Sir William Phipps, arrived so late in the season, that several of the ships were lost, and the design miscarried.

From that period the fortifications of Quebec have gradually risen into importance. At the time of its capture by General Wolfe's army it was considered as a place of remarkable strength. Since then repairs and improvements have been yearly going on; and at the present day, if it is not actually a Gibraltar, it is at least a fortress of considerable strength and remarkable for its natural and local advantages.

The most elevated part of the fortifications on Cape Diamond is called the *Citadel*, which I always understood to be a sort of fortress or castle, for the purpose of affording the last retreat to the garrison in case of attack; but there is no appearance of any building of that description. An

An engineer may very possibly be able to detail, in technical terms, the construction of the present works on Cape Diamond; he may be able to describe its bastions, curtains, and half-bastions; its ditch, counter-guard, covered-way, and glacis; but my unprofessional eye could discern nothing but a heap of ruins and rubbish; a heterogeneous collection of old wooden log-houses and broken-down walls. The arrival of Sir James Craig has, however, caused a vast alteration in the garrison. The old works, which were falling to decay, are now repairing with the utmost expedition. New walls, bastions, and curtains; half-moon batteries, and martello towers, are rising in all directions. Mines are sprung, rocks blown up, and the artillerymen frequently with them, occasioned by their own carelessness.

The heights about a quarter of a mile from St. Louis' gate, formerly commanded the highest part of the citadel, so that an enemy having possession of that elevated position, would be able to silence the fire of the garrison in that quarter. To counteract the ill effects apprehended from such an event, a large battery has been raised on the highest spot within the fortifications, in a line with those heights. Its construction, however, is not generally approved, being exposed in the rear to an enemy on the opposite banks of the river St. Lawrence. It is said that the

General disapproves it, and that one of a different description is to be erected in its place. Four martello towers are erecting on the heights, about half a mile from the garrison; they run in a line with each other, across the plains, from the elevated position which I mentioned, to where the mountain subsides into the valley to the northward, beyond St. John's suburb. These towers must all be carried by storm, or demolished, before an enemy can approach near enough to injure the garrison.

Beyond these towers are the celebrated plains of Abraham, where our gallant Wolfe so dearly purchased that honour and renown which will ever accompany his name. The place where the British troops landed is about three miles from Cape Diamond, and forms a sort of small bay, now generally known by the name of Wolfe's Cove. The path up the side of the mountain to the heights above was, at that time, very steep and narrow, and much obstructed by felled timber, and a battery which the French had raised at the top: at present it is wide enough for carts to go up. On that memorable occasion, the men of war and transports got under weigh early in the morning, and sailed up as far as Cape Rouge, about nine miles above Quebec. Montcalm believing their intentions were to land there, detached Bougainville, with eight battalions and

some artillery, to oppose them. In the mean time the British squadron silently put about, and dropped down with the tide to Wolfe's Cove, while Mons. Bougainville kept marching with his detachment in a contrary direction.

The landing commenced about four o'clock in the morning, and ended before eight. By that time the British had scaled the heights, and formed their line, with two field-pieces in front, and the 48th regiment as a body of reserve; the light infantry to cover the rear, the 15th regiment and the royal Americans to cover the landing-place.

The Marquis de Montcalm, who was with the main body of his army on the shores of Beauport, hearing that the English had gained the heights of Abraham, could scarcely credit his senses. He immediately hurried across the river St. Charles, and formed his line on the plains between eight and nine o'clock, with one field-piece, and his irregulars posted in flying parties to attack the British flanks.

The French line began to charge about nine, advancing briskly, and for some little time in good order: a part of the line began to fire too soon, which immediately caught through the whole. They then began to waver, but kept advancing with a scattered fire. When they had got within about a hundred yards of the British line,

the latter moved up regularly with a steady fire, and when within twenty or thirty yards of closing gave a general volley; upon which a total rout of the enemy ensued.

Bougainville's detachment appeared in sight just before the conclusion of the battle; but being satisfied that there were no laurels for him to gain, he decamped, in double quick time, to Point au Tremble, from thence to Three Rivers, and afterwards to Montreal; a distance of one hundred and eighty miles.

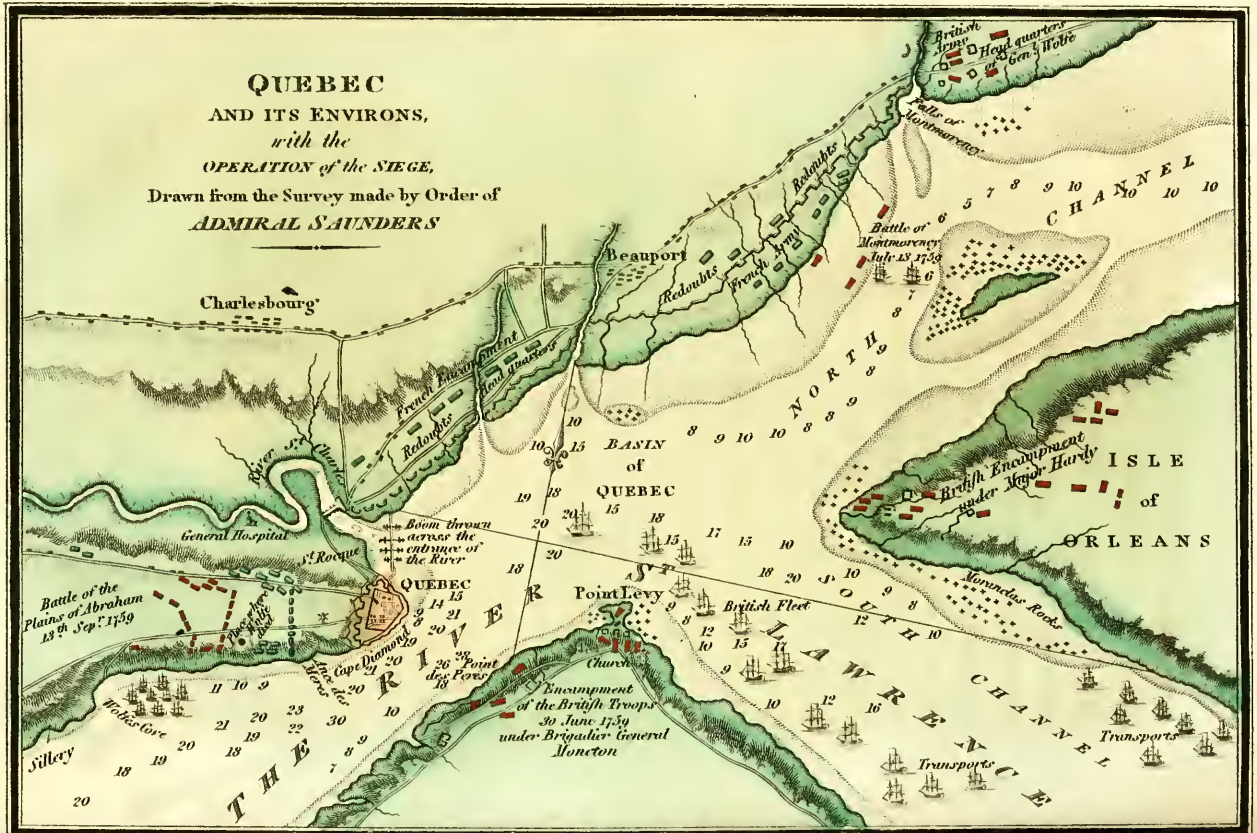
This decisive battle was fought on the 13th Sept. 1759, and on the 18th Quebec surendered by capitulation. The terms granted were honourable to the garrison and advantageous to the inhabitants, who were to be protected in the full enjoyment of their civil rights, and the free exercise of their religion, until a general peace should decide their future condition.

Wolfe, like Epaminondas, breathed out his soul in the arms of victory. His death was a national loss, and as greatly lamented as that of Nelson, who also fell in the moment of victory, and died with nearly the same words upon his lips. The memory of such men can never be prized too much, since it requires ages to replace them.

The spot where Wolfe died I have often visited with a sort of pleasing melancholy. It is the corner of a small redoubt, which is yet

visible, and was formerly distinguished by a large rock-stone, upon which it is said he was supported after he received the fatal wound. From this stone strangers were frequently prompted, by their feelings, to break off a small piece to keep as a memento of the fate of that gallant hero; but the sacrilegious hands of modern upstart innovators have removed that sacred relic, because it came within the inclosure of a certain Commissary-general, who had erected what he called a pavilion, and would, probably, have soon planted potatoes and cabbages in the redoubt, had he not been discharged from his office by the present Governor-general, for a *trifling* deficiency in his accounts.

I never could contemplate the rock, the fortifications of Quebec, the plains of Abraham, and the little redoubt to which General Wolfe was borne in the midst of the battle, without reflecting on the ingratitude of his countrymen in Canada, who have not only shamefully neglected his memory, by withholding from him a monument or statue, which his merits deserve, and in the benefits of which they are now participating; but have suffered the last sad remains of the spot on which he breathed his last, to be sacrificed to the insolent vanity of an obscure individual. His countrymen in England have honoured his memory with an elegant monument in their venera-


QUEBEC
AND ITS ENVIRONS,
with the
OPERATION of the SIEGE,
Drawn from the Survey made by Order of
ADMIRAL SAUNDERS
Charlesbourg
Beauport
Redoubts
French Army
Redoubts
British Army
Head quarters of Gen.l Wolfe
Falls of Montmorency
Battle of Montmorency July 18 1759
NORTH CHANNEL
BASIN of QUEBEC
ISLE of ORLEANS
British Encampment under Major Hardy
Morandas Rocks
SOUTH CHANNEL
ST LAWRENCE
Transports
Transports
British Fleet
Point Levy
Church
Encampment of the British Troops 30 June 1759 under Brigadier General Moncton
THE RIVER
Point des Peres
Cape Diamond
Ance des Meres
Wolfe's Cove
Sillery
Battle of the Plains of Abraham 13th Sep.r 1759
Place where Wolfe died
St Rocque
QUEBEC
Boom thrown across the entrance of the River
General Hospital
River St Charles
French Encampment
Head quarters
Redoubts

ble mausoleum for distinguished characters; but the only mark of respect which his countrymen in Canada have vouchsafed to bestow, is a paltry wooden statue, about four feet high, stuck up at the corner of a house in St. John-street. This *humble* (or I should rather say *elegant*) specimen of Canadian carving represents the general in the uniform of a common soldier, with his musket, belts, cartouch-box, and bayonet; a little three-cornered hat, and long-skirted coat reaching half-way down his legs. It is possible this may be a correct delineation of the general, as he went into battle at the head of his army. As such it is not unworthy a stranger's notice; but surely it is not a statue worthy of commemorating such extraordinary talents, courage, and perseverance, as our gallant hero possessed and displayed at the siege and conquest of Quebec. I hope, therefore, that under the administration of the present Governor-general, himself so celebrated for his military services, the inhabitants of Canada will display their generosity and spirit, by erecting a suitable monument to the memory of General Wolfe. The commerce of the country was never so great as at present, nor the people better able to defray the expenses attending a design far more worthy of their munificence than that hideous structure of wood and stone which at present

disgraces the Upper Town market-place, and of which I shall soon have occasion to speak.

To garrison Quebec in a complete manner, it is said that ten thousand troops are requisite. Though the number usually kept there falls very short of that amount, yet it is sufficient for all the purposes of garrison-duty. In case of an attack being apprehended, the different regiments of the line and fencibles, which in war-time are generally distributed at Three Rivers, Montreal, and other posts, can be transported to Quebec in a few hours, if necessary; besides which, the militia regiments formed by its inhabitants are always on the spot to assist the regular troops.

The troops are lodged in a large building formerly belonging to the Jesuits, situate in the Upper Town market-place, the apartments of which have been turned into excellent barrack-rooms. This building will accommodate upwards of two thousand soldiers. Before this house and property appertaining to the society of Jesus came into the possession of the English Government, the troops were partly lodged in block-houses on Cape Diamond. Those buildings, composed entirely of wood, have been suffered to remain in a ruinous state for several years, highly dangerous, in case of fire, to the neighbouring storehouses and powder magazines. They were in existence

when I visited the Cape, but it was intended very shortly to pull them down.

The present Governor-general possesses the largest staff that has been known in Canada for several years; and there are upwards of ten regiments of the line and fencibles, with about six hundred artillery. The latter are commanded by Colonel Glasgow, who is also commandant of the garrison. This officer, whose acquaintance I shall ever esteem, served under the gallant Elliot during the siege of Gibraltar. He has been upwards of twenty years in Canada, and is respected by all who know him, for the amiableness of his private life, and for the ability and integrity which he displays in his public character.

The British Government seems at present disposed to maintain its possessions in Canada upon a respectable footing. Many new appointments have taken place in that country, particularly in the military department. Six inspecting field-officers of militia are among the number; but it is not yet known upon what plan the militia is to be organized. At present there are not above one thousand militia, or rather volunteers, either in Quebec, Three Rivers, or Montreal, that are armed; and they have furnished themselves with clothing and accoutrements at their own expense, and are in every respect like our volunteers, except that the latter are superior to them in disci-

pline. At the time that a war was expected, in 1807, between Great Britain and the United States, the Canadian people universally offered to embody themselves for the defence of the country. The services of only five thousand were accepted, and they were never armed, as the necessity of the case was not very urgent. The alacrity and zeal with which the Canadians came forward were however highly honourable to them, and afforded a strong proof of their good sense, in properly appreciating the happiness which they enjoy under a mild and liberal government*. The British and French Canadians are divided into separate corps of militia, and officered by their own people: a distinction which might as well be dispensed with; for it is calculated to prevent that union of interest and sentiment, which ought to prevail between all classes of his majesty's subjects in the colony.

* Since writing the above, the President of the United States has declared war against Great Britain; and the brave Canadians, in the campaign of 1812, under Sir G. Prevost, have nobly confirmed my opinion, by annihilating *three* American armies sent to conquer them.

CHAPTER IV.

Chateau St. Louis—Improvements—Public Buildings of the Upper Town—Court House—English Cathedral—Fire at the Monastery of Franciscan Friars—College of Jesuits—Mode of Living of the Jesuits—Canadian Proverb—Indefatigable Perseverance—Genius and Ability—Anecdote of a German Jesuit—Jean Joseph Casot, the last of the Canadian Jesuits—Hôtel Dieu—Seminary—Remarkable Anecdote of a young Lady—Convent of St. Ursule—General Hospital—Useful Avocations of the Nuns—Benefit of Monastic Institutions in Canada—Begging Friars—Roman Catholic Clergy.

The residence of the Governor is a large plain stone building, erected, I believe, by General Haldimand, and forming one side of the open place or square called the Parade. Opposite to it stand the English Cathedral Church and the Court House, both handsome buildings of modern construction. The other sides of the Parade are formed by the Union Hotel, in a line with some large dwelling-houses—and opposite by a row of buildings

which forms the commencement of St. Louis-street.

The old chateau, or castle of St. Louis, is built upon the verge of an inaccessible part of the rock, and separated by a court-yard from the new building which fronts the parade.

It was formerly occupied by the Governor, for his residence; but, on the erection of the other, was converted into public offices. It is now undergoing considerable improvements, for the use of Sir James Craig. It is to be raised one story higher, and the expenses are to be defrayed by the colony, agreeable to an act passed for that purpose by the provincial Parliament. When finished, it will possess every requisite for the abode of the most distinguished person in the colony. Its situation for fine prospects and extensive views of the river and surrounding country cannot be surpassed in any part of the Upper Town. Behind the building is a large stone gallery or balcony, even with the lower apartments. This gallery, which serves as a very agreeable promenade, is situated more than two hundred and fifty feet above the level of the river, and commands a beautiful panorama view of the Lower Town—the shipping in the river—Point Levi—the Island of Orleans—shores of Beauport and distant mountains, a scene as grand and extensive

as it is possible for the imagination to conceive, or the eye to survey.

To complete the plan upon which the old chateau is rebuilding, the guard-house on the right has been pulled down, and a new one of stone is constructing on a larger scale. The back part of this building and the sides, which will open into the court-yard, are to contain the Governor's horses and carriages, and a part is to be appropriated for a riding-school. The other chateau on the left, it is said, is also coming down in part, for the purpose of making both wings uniform, and enlarging the entrance to the grand chateau. When this plan is completed, that side of the parade will be greatly improved, and will give a more regular feature to the square. The situation, however, of the cathedral and of the new court-house on the opposite side are but very ill adapted to render the square complete, as the gable end only of the latter comes into view; the front of it opening into St. Louis-street. I am not acquainted with the motives which occasioned the court-house to be erected on its present site, when so favourable an opportunity seems to have offered for building it with its front opposite the chateau, as there is a considerable space of unoccupied ground between it and the cathedral. But the public buildings of Quebec seem never to have been constructed with any view to improve

the appearance of the town; and if we except the English church, we shall not find one at present that can excite our applause. The plan of the cathedral church is said to have been taken from St. Martin's in the Fields, London. It is built of a light-coloured gray stone, with a handsome steeple and spire of proportionate height, covered as well as the roof with sheets of tin, which give it a remarkable light and brilliant appearance; for the tin-covered roofs of houses and churches in Canada never rust, but constantly maintain their shining appearance, in consequence of a particular method of doubling down the tin over the nails. Sheets of iron painted black or red are sometimes used for covering roofs, instead of tin.

The Union Hotel is the only building besides those which I have mentioned that contributes to adorn the Parade. It is a very neat house, one story above the ground floor. The rooms are lofty and spacious. The building is partly of stone and of wood, covered with a sloping roof of clapboard, painted of a slate colour. The front is ornamented with a handsome portico and steps, and the whole has a pretty effect.

The ground upon which the court-house and cathedral stand, was formerly occupied by a monastery of Franciscan friars or recollets, which was burnt down a few years ago by accident, and

did considerable damage in that quarter of the town. Many other parts were also much endangered, particularly the Lower Town, into which the blazing shingles were carried by the wind; they even fell into the river, and obliged a frigate lying at anchor to slip her cable and run down to the Island of Orleans. This order of friars, of whom there were then but few, being by profession very poor, and subsisting only upon the charity of the inhabitants, were unable to rebuild their house, and became distributed in different parts of the country. There are only two now alive, and they reside at Montreal; they continue to go about habited in the dress of their order.

The college of the Jesuits is situated in the market, and now makes very excellent barracks for the soldiers. As the Jesuits in Canada, as well as in different parts of the world, were once a very powerful body of men, and possessed more influence for a time over the people among whom they lived than even the sovereigns themselves, it may be amusing, and perhaps instructive, to describe them as they existed in that country about sixty years ago, at which period their power, though on the decline, was yet considerable. At this day not an individual of that society is alive in Canada, the British Government having wisely prohibited the religious male orders, the priests excepted, from augmenting their numbers. The

Government faithfully allowed the orders to enjoy the whole of their revenues, as long as there existed a single individual of the body; but on his death the property reverted to the crown.

The building in which the Jesuits resided is well laid out; and when occupied by them, and in good order and repair, must have been the handsomest building in Canada. It consists of stone, and is three stories high, above which are garrets with a sloping roof covered with slate, even at this day in a good state of preservation; a circumstance which I am surprised has not induced the inhabitants to cover their houses with slate, as they could import it from Scotland cheaper than tin. The college is built in a square form, and includes a large court-yard within. In every story there is a long walk, on both sides of which the brethren had their private cells or rooms, exclusive of the public halls, refectory, library, apothecary's shop, and other apartments for general use. A large orchard and kitchen garden were situated on the south side of the building. A part of the trees in the former were the remains of the forest which covered the mountain when the French began to build the city, and are in existence at the present day.

The interior œconomy of the college was well regulated. The Jesuits used to dine in a great hall, around which were placed long tables with

seats between them and the walls, but not on the opposite side. On one side the refectory was a pulpit, in which, during meals, one of the fathers used to read some religious book; but when visitors dined with them, this practice was omitted; the time being generally employed in conversation. Their dinners were always good; and when company was present, their dishes were as numerous as at a great feast. They never permitted a woman to reside among them. All were fathers or brothers, the latter of whom were young men brought up to be Jesuits; they used to prepare every thing for dinner in the hall, and bring it on table; the common servants not being admitted.

There were three kinds of clergy in Canada: the Jesuits, the priests, and the recollects. The first were considered so much superior to the rest, that the Canadians had the following proverb to show how much the one surpassed the other. "Pour faire un Recollet, il faut une hachette, pour un Prêtre un ciseau, mais pour un Jesuite, il faut un pinceau." "To make a recollect you must have an axe, for a priest a chisel, but for a Jesuit you must have a pencil."

The Jesuits were generally very learned and studious, and very agreeable company. In their whole deportment there was something so pleasing and irresistible, that it is not surprising they

captivated the minds of the people. In mixed company they never spoke of religious matters, and if the subject by chance was introduced, they generally avoided disputes. They had the character of being always ready to render assistance, often even before it was required of them; and their conversation was so entertaining and learned, that a person seldom could be tired of their company. They never cared to become preachers to a congregation in town or country, but always left those places and the emoluments arising from them to the priests. All their business in Canada was to convert the Indians, and with that view their missionaries were scattered over every part of the country. These missionaries were so zealous in their cause, that in winter they accompanied the Indians in their great hunting parties, when they were frequently obliged to suffer all imaginable inconveniences: walking in the snow all day, and at night lying in the open air, regardless of good or bad weather, and what was often worse, lying in the Indian wigwams, huddled together with the savages, who were frequently swarming with fleas and other vermin. These hardships, sometimes aggravated by hunger, did the Jesuits undergo for the sake of converting the Indians; but as much perhaps for political as religious reasons. Yet what an indefatigable body of men must they have been! for though they

were seeking their own aggrandisement, as well as to further the political views of their own country, one would think that the life of hardships which they led, would have cooled their zeal; and no doubt but it would, had they been any other people than Jesuits. This body of men must have been of great service to their country; for they were often able to persuade the Indians to break their treaties with the English, and make war upon them, to bring their furs to the French, and not permit the English to come amongst them. Sometimes the Indians, when in liquor, would kill the Jesuits, calling them spies, or excuse themselves by saying that the brandy had killed them.

The Jesuits never attended at funerals, nor visited the sick, nor heard confessions; those offices they left for the priests. They were reckoned a most cunning set of people, who generally succeeded in their undertakings, and surpassed all others in acuteness and understanding; they were therefore not without jealous enemies in Canada. It was their custom never to receive any amongst them, but persons of very promising parts; so that no blockheads ever crept into their society. An anecdote to this effect is related of Christopher Clavius, a German Jesuit, distinguished for his mathematical knowledge,

and employed by Gregory XIII. in the reformation of the calendar. He died at Rome in 1612, at the age of seventy-five. This learned character, when a boy, was entered in a college of Jesuits; and, after having been tried at several parts of learning, was upon the point of being dismissed as a hopeless blockhead, until one of the fathers took it in his head to make an essay of his parts in geometry, which it seems hit his genius so luckily, that he afterwards became one of the greatest mathematicians of the age. It is commonly thought that the sagacity of the fathers in discovering the talent of a young student, has not a little contributed to the distinction which their order has obtained in the world.

On the other hand, the priests received the best kind of people they could meet, and the recollects were yet less careful. They never endeavoured to get cunning fellows among them, but took all that offered; and so far from tormenting their brains with much learning, they, on putting on the monastic habit, often forgot what little they knew. As they had made vows of poverty, they subsisted by begging, and the young monks or brothers used to carry a bag from house to house to receive alms. Such an order of men in a new country, like Canada, was most destructive to society, and to the prosperity of the co-

lony. They were the locusts of the land, and the benefit of their extermination must be sensibly felt.

The revenue of the Jesuit society was very considerable, being upwards of twelve thousand pounds per annum, at the time it reverted to the crown. It had been for several years enjoyed solely by an old father, who had survived all the rest. This Jesuit, whose name was Jean Joseph Casot, was a native of Switzerland, and born in 1728. In his youth he was no more than porter to the college; but having considerable merit, he was promoted, and in the course of time received into the order. He had the character of possessing an amiable and generous disposition, and employed his large income in charitable purposes. He died a few years ago, at a very advanced age. For some time previous to his death, he shut himself up in his apartments, and became inaccessible to all but his attendants. The crown, on his demise, came into possession of the property, for the management of which commissioners have been appointed. The lands which belonged to that body, as well indeed as to the religious orders in general, are by far the best in the country, and produce the greatest revenues.

The French seminary or college at Quebec is situated close to the French cathedral, between

the market-place and the ramparts. The building is spacious, and substantially built, though, like most of the public edifices in Quebec, it has suffered much from fire. It was burned down in 1703, and again in 1705, when just rebuilt. At the back of the seminary, there is a very extensive garden, well laid out, and possessing every requisite that can contribute to the recreation of the students. It commands a beautiful view of the river, the island of Orleans, and the opposite shores. The seminary was originally instituted to bring up students for the priesthood. No funds were allowed for the education of youth in general; but since the conquest it has admitted scholars without limitation of number, for an acknowledgement of five shillings per annum for out-pensioners, and twelve pounds ten shillings for boarders. The boys educated there at present are numerous, and chiefly the children of the French inhabitants. Those intended for the church remain there till their education is completed, or till a parish can be given them.

The nunneries have not been restricted by Government, consequently they are in general well filled. The Hotel Dieu is a large building, situated, with its gardens, near Palace Gate. It was founded in 1638 by the Duchess d'Aiguillon, who sent from the Hospital at Dieppe three nuns, for the purpose of commencing this charitable

J. Lambert del.t

One of the Seminary Boys at Quebec and a Gentleman in his Winter Dress.

institution. It consists of an hospital for the sick, who are received here, and attended by the nuns, without any expense to the patients. The invalids of both sexes are comfortably lodged in wards, and every attention paid to them by the sisters, of whom there are about twenty-seven, with a superior. Females are received as novices for two years, during which time they wear the white veil; and if they then are determined to enter the order, they take the black veil, which seals their initiation, and incloses them in the convent for life. It is very seldom, however, that a female goes into the religious houses of this country until she despairs of ever getting a husband. Some few young and handsome girls have at different times sacrificed themselves, either from resentment or despair, at the caprice of a parent, or the faithless conduct of a lover.

I heard of a singular anecdote concerning a young lady, who had a narrow escape from perpetual imprisonment in one of the convents at Quebec. It seems that the mother, Madame B——t d'A——y, had made a most absurd and ridiculous vow, previous to the birth of this child, that if she died in child-birth, and the infant was a female, it should be dedicated to the service of Christ. This event did happen, and the child was accordingly brought up in the strictest manner at the convent. The father too appeared

fully determined, that when of age his daughter should take the veil, agreeable to the dying request of her mother. When the young lady, however, grew up to years of maturity, she seemed more inclined to fulfil the divine command of the Almighty, to "increase and multiply," than to lead a life of celibacy in a convent. Her heart was soon captivated by the tender assiduities of a gallant youth, and vows of love, instead of religion, bound her to him. Their affection was mutual, and as long as she reflected upon that, she dreaded not the infatuated vow of her mother.

It happened that her lover was obliged to go abroad for some time. Imperious circumstances delayed his return, and the time approached when she was to be sacrificed at the altar. It was now two years since he had left her, and for a long time she had heard no tidings of him. Hope, fear, and despair, alternately took possession of her mind. She could not believe that he was faithless, yet knew not how to account for his absence and neglect; at a period too when he must be acquainted with her unfortunate destination. The father persisted in his determination to make her renounce the world, and the day arrived when this distressing scene was to take place. Her story was well known in Quebec, and crowds were at the convent at an early

hour to witness the sight. Like a lamb led to be sacrificed, she approached the altar. The bishop commenced the ceremony, which generally lasts a considerable time. At length he came to that part where she is asked whether she will accept the veil, that is to wed her to Christ? At this moment all eyes were fixed upon her pale and death-like countenance. Her eyes were drowned in tears, and her frame was nearly sinking under such a weight of woe, when, looking round the crowd, she suddenly started, and immediately turning to the bishop, declared, with much firmness, that she would be wedded to no one on earth but that young man, pointing to her lover. In an instant all eyes were turned upon the fortunate youth, who had providentially arrived that day at Quebec, and, on hearing the melancholy tale, immediately hurried to the convent; and, pushing his way through the crowd, arrived just in time to prevent the unfortunate catastrophe. It was a joyful scene, and the bishop, without hesitation, married the young couple on the spot.

The convent of Ursulines was instituted in 1639, by a rich young widow in France, Madame de la Peltrie, for the education of female children. It belongs to a superior and thirty-six nuns, who instruct the girls in reading, embroidery, and fine work; no men are allowed to visit

this or any of the convents, without permission from the bishop. The sisters of St. Ursule are more strict and recluse than those of the other convents. They have a large garden adjoining their house, which supplies them with a variety of fruit, herbs, and vegetables, a portion of which they sell to the inhabitants; for their institution is not very rich. They also employ themselves with embroidery, pickling and preserving of fruits and vegetables, which are disposed of for the benefit of the society. This convent, like the rest of the public buildings in Canada, has suffered two or three times by fire. It is now substantially built of stone, and the roof covered with tin.

The general hospital, which is situated some distance out of the town, on the banks of the river St. Charles, surrounded by meadow-lands, is the third convent belonging to Quebec. It was founded about the year 1693, by M. de St. Vallier, bishop of Quebec, for the purpose of affording support and relief to the infirm, the aged, the sick, and wounded poor, of both sexes, and in this charitable and praise-worthy service it continues to this day. A superior and thirty-seven sisters fulfil the duties of the institution, in a manner that does them the highest honour, and entitles them to the gratitude and thanks of the public. Their religious duties are performed

without relaxing those of humanity, and their leisure moments are spent in useful and ornamental works, the profits of which assist the revenues of the hospital.

I cannot quit this cursory notice of the female religious institutions at Quebec, without paying them a tribute of applause to which they are justly entitled. Few, it is true, go into those holy receptacles, but such as are tired of the world. They are either satiated with its pleasures, or disgusted with its cares. But the objects for which they leave the world, are not to live in easy idleness, or careless indifference. Two out of three institutions bestow their time, attention, and property, upon the sick and aged poor. The other devotes the services of its sisters to the education and instruction of young females. Such are the charitable offices performed by the Canadian nuns, whose religious duties are equally meritorious.

The existence, therefore, of these religious orders I conceive to be highly advantageous to the people of Canada, and serviceable to the Government. In a catholic country governed and regulated by the liberal constitution of England, those institutions are rendered of public utility. The suppression of the male orders was wise and politic, because, however useful the Jesuits might have been to their own Government, it is hardly

possible that they could have ever been reconciled to act in favour of one whose religious tenets clashed with their own. As to the begging friars, no nation could be benefited by them. The priests or catholic clergy, at present so numerous, and who have received the support and protection of the English Government, are entitled to particular notice. From the great influence which they possess over the minds of the Canadians, their importance cannot be questioned. In a subsequent chapter I shall offer some observations upon them.

CHAPTER V.

Upper Town of Quebec—New Buildings—Butchers' Market—Show of Meat the Day after Good Friday—Feasting after Lent—Price of Provisions—Frozen Provisions kept for five Months—Extravagant Price of European Goods—Tommy Cods—Fish—Wild Pigeons—A Market Scene—Poor Mulrooney—The Habitant outwitted—Stinking Cheese an Epicurean Delicacy—Butter from Green Island—Frozen Milk—Maple Sugar—Origin of eating sweet Things with Meat—Price of Articles at Market—Canadian Currency.

The Upper Town is certainly the most agreeable part of Quebec both in summer and winter. In the former season, the heat is not so intense as in many parts of the Lower Town, nor in winter is it so dreary and dull. The cold is, however, severer by several degrees. Even between Cape Diamond and the Upper Town, there is frequently a difference in the weather of nearly 10 degrees. The thermometer in February 1807 was 20 degrees below 0 in St. Louis-street, and

on the Cape 30 below 0; the latter being elevated upwards of 70 feet above the former.

The streets in the Upper Town are not remarkable for width; but many of them are tolerably paved, yet a considerable part of the town remains without that beneficial improvement. A fortified town, confined like Quebec to the summit and base of a steep rock, is not very well adapted either for convenient streets or elegant buildings; they must always be regulated by the localities of its situation. But much more might certainly have been effected for general comfort and convenience, had this place fallen into the hands of any other than a Roman Catholic people, whose numerous religious institutions have occupied nearly one-half the town. Their large buildings, and extensive gardens, were not of so much consequence in the early settlement of Quebec; but when population increased, those who would otherwise have lived within the walls, were obliged for want of room to reside without; and have formed what are called the suburbs of St. John, St. Rocque, &c.

Since the conquest, improvements have gone on but slowly, owing to the fluctuating state of commerce; from which source alone the means can be provided. Of late years, however, several alterations have taken place in consequence of the extinction of the male religious orders, whose

houses and lands have devolved to the crown, and made room for the erection of new edifices. Some public buildings have been erected, but except the English church, with very little taste; and even that is not yet complete, for it requires to be inclosed with an iron railing, instead of the old rotten wall which at present degrades the building. Several streets have been paved, and private houses built upon more improved principles than those which before occupied their sites. There is yet room enough, in different parts of the town, for many more houses, which will no doubt be erected as commerce and population increase.

In speaking of the new buildings, I cannot avoid observing, that of all those which have disgraced the public taste, the circular building erected in the Upper Town market-place has disgraced it the most. This edifice, to which I have before alluded, is a kind of amphitheatre of stone, surmounted by an immense dome or cupola of wooden frame-work, covered on the outside with planks. On the top is a sort of lantern, or circular chamber, with planked roof. The sides of this lantern are glazed for the admittance of light into the interior, but they have very little effect in such an extensive building. The frame-work inside the dome is ingenious enough, and does more credit to the artist who

erected than to those who designed such a crude mass as the whole building presents.

The heaviness and disproportion of its parts may be easily conceived, when it is known that the diameter of its base, and its perpendicular height, are exactly the same, being just one hundred feet each.

At first sight a stranger fancies that he beholds the grand amphitheatre of the inhabitants of Quebec, where skilful horsemanship or splendid spectacles enliven the long evenings of a Canadian winter; but how great is his surprise when, on a closer inspection, he discovers that this vast edifice is neither more nor less than the butchers' shamble, a mere receptacle for beef, mutton, and pork! Not, indeed, that the *elegance* of the building itself would lead him to think that it was unworthy of such a fate: on the contrary, he would decide in his own mind, that the butchers are not much honoured by the structure, however they may be by the sum of money that has been expended for them.

Before this edifice was erected, the butchers occupied small wooden stalls. These were very inconvenient, very irregularly built, and much exposed to the weather. It was necessary that the meat stalls should be secured against the heat in summer, and the cold in winter. The new building has provided for the first of these requi-

sites, but the severity of the winter is felt at present in its greatest rigour.

The other parts of the market-place are occupied from five o'clock in the morning till twelve, by the Habitans (country people), who bring the productions of their farms to market in carts during the summer, and in sleighs in the winter. They generally bring their wives and daughters with them, who often remain exposed all the morning to the piercing cold of winter, or the burning sun of summer, disposing of their provisions, while their husbands or fathers are getting drunk in the spirit-shops and taverns. The carts with hay and wood are stationed by themselves, near the barracks. The rest with meat, fruit, vegetables, &c., occupy the other parts of the market-place. Here the groups of country people who present themselves to view with their little stock of provisions, their singular mode of dress, their language and behaviour, form a novel and curious sight to a person unaccustomed to the country.

The markets are supplied with beef, mutton, pork, and veal, by the Habitans, as well as the butchers; though the latter generally feed their own cattle, and kill them for sale as required. Their meat is frequently better than that of the country people. The fattest pork that can be procured is bought by the lower order of the Ca-

nadians, who scarcely eat any other meat. The Habitans, in particular, live for months upon pork; a small piece of which, boiled down with some peas or beans into a soup, constitutes their chief dish. The veal sold by the Habitans is in general very young, as red as beef, and does not eat well.

During Lent the French people live upon fish and vegetables, which they contrive to dress in the most palatable manner. The day after Good Friday the butchers make a show of their meat, somewhat similar to our butchers before Christmas. The former decorate their meat with flowers and ribbands in order to tempt their customers, though one would think that but little inducement was necessary to invite them to eat after so long a fast. The Catholics at the close of Lent have a regale, and the butchers do not neglect to take advantage of that propitious moment. The finest quarters and joints are ticketed with the names of those happy people, who are alert enough to rise at three or four o'clock in the morning and get to market before their neighbours.

The dogs in little carts, which are mentioned by Mr. Weld and former writers, are now not much in use, except by boys; every thing is brought to market in carts, or sleighs, drawn by horses. The markets of Quebec are well supplied with every thing the country affords. In summer

the following articles are brought to market by the Habitans, and generally sold at the prices affixed to them.

Sterling money.

Meat.
- Beef per lb. 1½*d.* to 4*d.*
- Mutton per lb. 4*d.* to 6*d.*; per sheep 8*s.* to 10*s.*
- Lamb per quarter 3*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* 6*d.*
- Veal 6*d.* to 7*d.* per lb.
- Pork 5*d.* to 6*d.* per lb.
- Sausages

Poultry and Game.
- Turkeys per couple 3*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.*
- Fowls do. 1*s.* 3*d.* to 2*s.*
- Chickens do. 7*d.* to 10*d.*
- Geese do. 2*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* 6*d.*
- Wild do. do.
- Partridges do. 10*d.* to 15*d.*
- Pigeons per doz. 1*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.*
- Hares each 6*d.* to 9*d.*

Fish.
- Eels, price according to the size.
- Trout do.
- Perch do.
- Poisson Dorée do.
- Maskinongé do.
- Shad each 1*d.* to 2*d.*
- Sturgeon, Achigan, Black bass, Salmon, Fresh Cod, Salt Cod, Cat Fish — Of various prices, according to the size. At some periods cod and salmon are as dear as in London.

Vegetables.
- Potatoes 18*d.* to 20*d.* per bushel.
- Cabbages 1*d.* to 2*d.* each.
- Onions per hundred 10*d.*

Vegetables.

- Leeks per bundle 4*d.*
- Carrots but very little cheaper than in London.
- Turnips do.
- Peas do.
- Beans do.
- Beet do.
- Celery do.
- Sallad do.
- Asparagus per bundle
- Cotonnier do.
- Parsnips
- Boiled Corn, Herbs, &c.

Fruit.

- Apples 18*s.* per barrel
- Pears but few at market
- Strawberries about 6*d.* per quart
- Currants
- Gooseberries
- Raspberries
- Blueberries
- Blackberries
- Plums
- Melons

Sundries.

- Maple sugar 2*d.* to 3*d.* per lb.
- Flour per cwt. 18*s.* to 25*s.*
- Lard . . . 6*d.* to 9*d.* per lb.
- Tallow . . . 9*d.* to 10*d.* do.
- Tobacco . . . . . 9*d.* do.
- Butter . . . 9*d.* to 14*d.* do.
- Oats per minot 2*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.*
- Hay per bundle 6*d.* to 7*d.*
- Straw per do. 2*d.* to 3*d.*
- Wood per cord 12*s.* to 15*s.*
- Stinking Cheese, Soap, Mogasins, Fur, &c.

In winter a portion only of the preceding articles are brought to market. As soon as the river between Quebec and the Island of Orleans is frozen over, a large supply of provisions is received from that island. The Canadians at the commencement of winter kill the greatest part of their stock, which they carry to market in a frozen state. The inhabitants of the towns then supply themselves with a sufficient quantity of poultry and vegetables till spring, and keep them in garrets or cellars. As long as they remain frozen, they preserve their goodness, but they will not keep long after they have thawed. I have eaten turkeys in April which have been kept in this manner all the winter, and found them remarkably good. Before the frozen provisions are dressed, they are always laid for some hours in *cold* water, which extracts the ice; otherwise, by a sudden immersion in hot water, they would be spoiled.

The articles of life are certainly very reasonable in Canada; but the high price of house rent and European goods, together with the high wages of servants, more than counterbalances that advantage. A person must pay at least 70 or 100 per cent. upon the London price, for every article of wearing apparel, furniture, &c., unless he attends the public sales, which are pretty frequent, and where articles are sometimes sold very low; but

there he is often liable to be deceived, and many a keen œconomist has been confoundedly bit.

The Lower Town market-place is reckoned cheaper than the other. It is not so large, but is generally well supplied. Fish is at certain seasons abundant, particularly salmon and shad; the latter is classed among the herrings, which it somewhat resembles in flavour, though widely differing in size, the shad being as large as a moderate-sized salmon. They are a great relief to the poor people in the months of May and June, as at that season they are taken in shoals in the river of St. Lawrence from the entrance to more than two hundred miles above Quebec: large quantities are salted down for the use of the upper province. Fresh cod are very rarely brought to market. A merchant in the Upper Town usually gets a supply once during the summer season, which he keeps in an ice-house, and retails to the inhabitants at nearly the London price. Montreal receives a supply from the United States during the winter season; they are packed up in ice, and a few of them find their way to Quebec.

The maskinongé is a fish of the pike species, with a long hooked snout projecting over the mouth. It is caught in the small river of Maskinongé, about a hundred and thirty miles above Quebec. Trout, perch, and other small fish are plentiful. The sturgeon, the basse, the achigan,

and a large species of eel, are all favourite fish with the Canadians; but the pickerel, or *poisson dorée*, is reckoned the best that comes to market. It is a small fish, seldom exceeding the size of a haddock, which I think it much resembles in flavour. In speaking of the fish I must not omit a curious species, about the size and appearance of large smelts, but far inferior to them in quality. They are called by the inhabitants *tommy cods*, and are caught in the St. Lawrence, during the winter season, in little holes which are made in the ice. Small huts are erected over these holes, and in them the Canadians fish for the *tommy cods* with hooks and lines. They generally obtain enough to reward them for their trouble. Many sit up all night at this work; for it is found that the fish bite better at that time than in the day. Great quantities are brought to market, and are very serviceable during Lent. In many places up the river, where they are taken in great abundance, and no sufficient sale is found, the country people feed their cattle with them. The eels of this country are all large, and by no means inviting to a refined taste. They have a strong rancid flavour, and contain a great deal of oil.

Considering the vast quantities of fish, with which the river and gulf of St. Lawrence abound, I think the markets in Canada are very ill sup-

plied. Though the gulf is full of mackerel, yet none ever appear at Quebec. Oysters are sometimes brought from Chaleur Bay, but so seldom, and in such small quantities, that an oyster feast is considered by the inhabitants as a very rare treat. They are, however, but of an indifferent quality; and though of large size when taken out of the shell, yet have so little subtance in them, that, when cut with a knife, the water runs out, and they diminish at least a fourth. The shells are large, and adhere to each other in great clusters. The herrings of Canada are large, but of indifferent quality. Sprats there are none; at least none ever appear on shore.

In the spring the markets are abundantly supplied with wild pigeons, which are sometimes sold much lower than the price I have mentioned: this happens in plentiful seasons; but the immense flocks that formerly passed over the country are now considerably diminished; or, as the land becomes cleared, they retire further back.

The beef of Canada is in general poor, and tough eating. The Canadians have not got into a proper method of fattening their cattle, which are for the most part lean and ill fed. The butchers however contrive to furnish a better sort, which they fatten on their own farms. The veal is killed too young to please an English taste, and the pork is overgrown. Mutton and lamb

are very good; and the latter, on its first coming in, is sold at a price which would not disgrace a London market. The Habitans sell their meat by the quarter, half, or whole carcase; which accounts for the different prices I have affixed to those articles. The butchers retail them by the pound.

It is curious in winter time to see the stiff headless carcases of the sheep stuck upon their hind legs in different parts of the market-place. It is also highly amusing to behold the various groups of people, of all descriptions, that surround the Habitans, looking over and scrambling for meat, poultry, and vegetables. Here may be seen men, women, and children; masters, mistresses, and servants; judges and members of the council; colonels, captains, and private soldiers; all promiscuously huddled together round the Habitant's cart, his basket, or his sack. One with a couple of turkeys in his hand; another with a goose; a third snatching it out of her hand, exclaiming "That's my goose, ma'am;" a fourth smelling at a brace of partridges; a fifth throwing the fellow's potatoes, cabbages, onions, apples, &c. into a little basket which she carries on her arm; a sixth moving off with a *stinking cheese* in his pocket; a seventh putting a mutton carcase under his arm, and bawling to the Habitant to take his money for it. In the midst of all this crowd stands the

poor fellow, telling the price of half a dozen different things in a breath, taking the money of some, and refusing it of others. Yet it very seldom happens that he loses any of his articles, or suffers himself to be cheated.

An anecdote is however told of a soldier, a few years ago, who stole a mutton carcase from one of the Habitans, and carried it into the adjoining barracks. The countryman got information of it, and applied to the officer on duty for leave to search the barrack-rooms for his mutton. The officer accordingly accompanied him; and after going through several of the apartments they came into one where two or three women were crying and groaning lamentably over a dead body, stretched out on the bed and covered with a sheet. The officer asked who was dead? "Ah, plase your honour, it's poor Mulrooney, who died suddenly with the gripes this morning." The Habitant, however, began to suspect that poor Mulrooney might be no other than his mutton, and therefore requested to see the corpse. The officer was upon the point of complying with his wishes, when the women immediately set up the Irish howl, shrieking and tearing their hair most piteously, and falling on the body, declared that they never would suffer poor dear Mulrooney to be taken for the carcase of a sheep, and would scratch the Frenchman's eyes out for wishing to disturb the

dead. They were just going to put their threats in execution, when the countryman, alarmed for his safety, and frightened at their howlings, immediately took to his heels and ran out of the barracks, though not without strong suspicions that Mulrooney's body was neither more nor less than his mutton. The fact was afterwards discovered; and, I believe, some remuneration was made the man for the loss of his sheep.

Another trick was once played upon a Habitant by a soldier, who had dressed himself as an officer's footman. He went to the countryman and asked what he had got in his bag? The man answered, "A pig;" upon which the soldier said he could not tell whether it would suit his master, but would take the pig for him to look at, and leave a dollar till he came back. He accordingly took the pig into the barracks, and returned to the man about five minutes after, saying that he was sorry the pig did not suit his master, and received his dollar back again. The unsuspecting countryman placed his bag again in the cart amongst his other articles: presently an old gentleman, a member of the house of assembly, came up, and began to overhaul the provisions in the cart. "What have you in the bag there?" said the old gentleman. "A pig, Sir."—"Ah! ah! let me look at it." The Habitant laid hold of the bag, and the old gentleman opened the

mouth of it to examine the pig, when a large *tom cat* instantly sprung up in his face and made off with all speed for the barracks, leaving the member of the house of assembly and the Habitant in the utmost consternation.

Among the articles brought to market is one of a peculiar description called *stinking cheese*, which, from the richness of its flavour, is worthy of a place at any of our city feasts. It only requires to be known in order to be sought after by all the lovers of highly-flavoured dainties; by all who can feast upon venison and wild fowl in a state of putridity; for this cheese exactly resembles those epicurean delicacies in the odours which it exhales. It is a kind of new cheese made into small flat cakes; but to reduce it to a rich palatable state, the country people wrap it up in wet hay or straw, and place it under *a dunghill*, where after it has lain a sufficient time to putrefy, it is taken out and carried to market for sale. I have frequently, on passing these cheeses, been obliged to hold my nose; yet gentlemen reckon them a great delicacy, and put two or three with the wet musty hay into their pockets!

The best butter is brought from Green Island, about one hundred and fifty miles below Quebec. That sold by the Canadians in the market-place is generally of a cheesy or sour flavour; owing to the cream being kept so long before it is churned.

Milk is brought to market in the winter time in large frozen cakes.

Large quantities of maple sugar are sold at about half the price of the West India sugar. The manufacturing of this article takes place early in the spring, when the sap or juice rises in the maple trees. It is very laborious work, as at that time the snow is just melting, and the Canadians suffer great hardships in procuring the liquor from an immense number of trees dispersed over many hundred acres of land. The liquor is boiled down, and often adulterated with flour, which thickens, and renders it heavy: after it is boiled a sufficient time, it is poured into tureens, and, when cold, forms a thick hard cake of the shape of the vessel. These cakes are of a dark brown colour, for the Canadians do not trouble themselves about refining it. The people in Upper Canada make it very white; and it may be easily clarified equal to the finest loaf sugar made in England.

It is very hard, and requires to be scraped with a knife when used for tea, otherwise the lumps would be a considerable time dissolving. Its flavour strongly resembles the candied horehound sold by the druggists in England, and the Canadians say that it possesses medicinal qualities, for which they eat it in large lumps. It very possibly acts as a corrective to the vast quantity

of fat pork which they consume, as it possesses a greater degree of acidity than the West India sugar. Before salt was in use, sugar was eaten with meat in order to correct its putrescency. Hence, probably, the custom of eating sweet apple sauce with pork and goose; and currant jelly with hare and venison.

Hay is sold at market in bundles of 17lbs. weight each, at 50*s.* the hundred bundles. Straw is sold in the same manner, at about half the price. Wood is brought to market in carts or sleighs; three loads make one cord, which sells for from 12*s.* to 15*s.* Most people at Quebec, however, lay in their wood from the water side, near the Lower Town market-place. It is brought down the river in summer, in cribs of six cords each. A cord of wood is six feet long, four feet high, and two feet deep, and is sold at the water side for from 8*s.* to 9*s.* The expense of carting, piling, and sawing the wood is about 4*s.* 6*d.* more. Coals are generally brought by the vessels as ballast, and sell from 20*s.* to 30*s.* per chaldron at Quebec; they are a cheaper fuel than wood, but the latter is better adapted for the stoves which are used in Canada. The French people sell their commodities by the *minot*, a measure which is one twelfth more than the Winchester bushel. They also measure land by the *arpent*, which is four-fifths of a statute acre.

Money in Canada is reckoned at the following weight and currency, agreeably to an act passed by the provincial parliament in April 1808:—

	Dwts.	*Grs.*		*£.*	*s.*	*d.*
British Guinea	5	6	Troy	1	3	4
Joannes of Portugal . .	18	0	. . .	4	0	0
Moidore of do.	6	18	. . .	1	10	0
American Eagle . . .	11	6	. . .	2	10	0

When weighed in bulk, the rate is currency, 4*l.* 9*s.* per oz. Troy.

Milled Doubloon, or four Pistole piece . . .	17	0	. . .	3	14	6
French Louis d'or, coined before 1793	5	4	. . .	1	2	8
French Pistole, coined before the same period	4	4	. . .	0	18	3

When weighed in bulk, the rate is currency, 4*l.* 7*s.* 8½*d.* per oz. Troy; and in the same proportion for all the higher and lower denominations of the said gold coins.

For every grain which the British, Portugal, and American coins weigh more than the standard, there is to be allowed and added 2¼*d.* currency; and for every grain less 2¼*d.* is to be deducted. And for every grain which the Spanish and French gold coins weigh more or less than the standard, there is to be an allowance of 2½*d.* currency.

In every payment exceeding the sum of twenty pounds, where one of the parties requires it, gold is to be weighed in bulk, and pass at the above rates; and a deduction of half a grain Troy is to

be made on every piece of coin so weighed, as a compensation to the receiver for the loss he may sustain in paying away the same by the single piece.

The silver coins are as follow:

	Canadian curreney. £.	s.	d.
Spanish Piastre or Dollar	0	5	0
English Crown	0	5	6
French Crown, of 6 livres tournois .	0	5	6
French do. of 4 livres 10 sols tournois	0	4	2
English Shilling	0	1	1
French piece of 24 sols tournois . .	0	1	1
L'Escalin, or Pistoreen	0	1	0
French piece of 36 sols tournois . .	0	1	8

The copper coin in circulation is English. The halfpence are called *sols* by the French, and *coppers* by the British. To bring sterling money into Canadian currency, one-ninth must be added; and to bring currency into sterling one-tenth must be deducted.

CHAPTER VI.

Curious Jargon in the Market-place—Bon Tabac—An Anecdote of an Irishman and a Habitant—Moccasins—Swamp Boots—Strawberries—Raspberries—Fruit brought to Market—Vegetables—Potatoes formerly looked upon as poisonous by the French—Rows of Cabbages and Onions—Bread—Price regulated by the Magistrates—Large Exportation of Wheat—Colonel Caldwell—Breweries established at Quebec—Hop Plantation at Sillery—Settlement of the Algonquins—Emily Montague—Wines drunk in Canada—Rum—Sugars—Quantity of Tea received from the United States—Tobacco—Salt—Trades and Professions.

A CURIOUS sort of jargon is carried on in the market-place, between the French who do not understand English, and the English who do not understand French. Each endeavours to meet the other half way, in his own tongue; by which means they contrive to comprehend one another, by broken phrases, for the common French marketing terms are soon picked up. This intercourse between the French and English has occa-

sioned the former to ingraft many anglicisms in their language, which to a stranger arriving from England, and speaking only boarding-school French, is at first rather puzzling. The Canadians have had the character of speaking the purest French; but I question whether they deserve it at the present day.

A laughable anecdote is related of an Irishman and one of the Habitans, occasioned rather by a play upon words, than from any misunderstanding between the parties.

An Irish soldier one day bought a large quantity of Canadian tobacco, and wishing to dispose of a part of it, he divided it into smaller rolls, similar to those which are sold in the market. He then posted himself in a crowded place and offered his tobacco for sale. A Habitant came up, and taking one of the rolls in his hand, asked if it was "*bon tabac.*"—"Oh, by Jasus," says Pat, "you will find it *bone* enough." Upon which the Frenchman and the Irishman struck a bargain for it; and the tobacco was sold at a very good profit. The next day, however, the Habitant happening to espy Pat in the market-place, immediately accused him of cheating, and complained to an officer who was passing at the time of the Irishman's roguery, and produced the bargain which he had purchased. The Irishman, on being interrogated respecting his conduct, de-

clared that it was a fair and honest sale. "Plase your honour, I would not chate a Christian for all the world: he asked me if it was '*bone tabac*,' and sure enough, your honour, it was; for I had wrapped round it a large *marrow bone*." The Frenchman, when he came to understand the joke, which was explained to him by the officer, enjoyed it so highly, that he agreed to compromise the matter at the tavern. Pat joyfully acceded to the proposal, and swore it was a pity that such a jewel of a fellow was not born in sweet little Ireland.

Besides articles of provisions, a quantity of furs, skins, moccasins, and baskets of birch bark, are brought to market by the Indians, from the neighbouring village of Lorette, whose chief subsistence rests more upon these commodities than upon the culture of the ground. Straw hats, moccasins, and baskets, are also offered for sale by the Canadians. The moccasins are in general use among the country people as shoes. They are of Indian origin, and well adapted for dry weather, or when the snow is hard on the ground; but they are not calculated to resist the wet, being made of a spongy sort of leather, slightly tanned, and without the thick soles which shoes possess. Thick woollen socks are worn inside, and partly remedy their defects. Boots of the same leather, with moccasin feet, are much worn by the Habitans,

and are also worn over others, as swamp boots, by those who are fond of shooting.

The fruit of Canada is not remarkable either for goodness or cheapness, except strawberries and raspberries, which are brought to market in great abundance during the season. They are gathered on the plains at the back of Quebec, and in the neighbouring woods, where they grow upon the ground, or among the shrubs, in wild luxuriance. The poor Canadians send their children to gather them, and afterwards sell them to the inhabitants at a moderate price. It is an agreeable sight to view the fields covered with strawberries, in blossom or ripe; and few persons keep them in gardens. The raspberry bushes are intermingled with the underwood of the forests, and afford an agreeable treat to those who are fond of rambling in the woods. That pleasure is however more than counterbalanced by the musquitoes and sand flies, which never fail, for three or four months in the summer, to annoy those who venture to penetrate their abode.

Apples and pears are procured from Montreal, where they grow in more abundance and in greater perfection than in any other part of Lower Canada. They are sold for much the same price as in England. The apple which is most prized is what they call the "*pomme gris*," a small light brown apple, somewhat resembling the russetin

in appearance. Many persons say that it is superior to any English apple, but I never could agree with them in that particular. In my opinion it is not equal to many of our apples, and cannot be compared with the nonpareil, an apple which is unknown in Canada. Several species of wild apples and pears are found in the woods, but they are of inferior quality to those cultivated in the gardens and orchards.

The grapes brought to market are mostly of the wild species, which are gathered in the woods, or from vines that have been planted near the houses. Little care has been taken to improve the latter, so that very trifling alteration is discernible. They are scarcely larger than currants, but when ripe have a pleasant flavour, though rather sharp and pungent. There are a few European vines cultivated in the gardens, but the grapes are seldom to be purchased.

Oranges and lemons are imported from England, and are always extremely scarce; for the damage which they sustain on the voyage renders them a very unprofitable article for sale. They frequently sell (particularly oranges) at one or two shillings each. The lemons, which generally keep better, are sometimes as low as sixpence; but they are often not to be purchased at any price.

Gooseberries, blackberries, and blueberries, are in great abundance, and grow wild in the woods.

Those cultivated in gardens are much superior. Currants came originally from Europe, and are to be found only in gardens; there is, of course, but a scanty supply of them at market. Plums are plentiful in the market; they are of the wild species, though often introduced into gardens. They are generally of two sorts, the white and black, and resemble the most common of our plums.

Walnuts and filberts are by no means common in Canada, and are procured principally by importation from England. Hickory and hazel nuts are met with in the forests. The English walnut-trees do not thrive well in Canada; and it has been remarked by naturalists, that the European trees were always more forward in their leaves and flowers than the native trees of America; in consequence of which they were very often blighted by the cold nights, which are frequent in the early part of the spring; while the American trees, which did not leaf or flower so soon, were generally preserved. Many days of an American spring are often hotter than English summers; consequently, our trees feeling a certain degree of warmth so early, and which in their own country brings them to maturity, are not prepared for the sudden changes to which the American climate is liable. The English walnut-tree seems particularly subject to the variableness and severity of

that climate. Even in the more southern parts of North America, it has been repeatedly killed by the frost. There is a species of black walnut-tree, a native of the country, the fruit of which is called, by the inhabitants, *butter-nuts;* they are, however, very inferior to the English walnut. The inhabitants pickle them in the same manner as we do the latter, but they do not possess their flavour.

Cherries are seldom seen in the markets; they are the production only of gentlemen's gardens. Two sorts of wild cherries are plentifully scattered over the country. They are, probably, mere varieties, though they differ materially in flavour. They are called *choke cherries* by the inhabitants, and seldom applied to any other purpose than the making of liqueur. The berries with their stones are bruised, and put into bottles of rum, brandy, or gin, with sugar, and in the course of a fortnight they make a very agreeable liqueur, resembling noyau.

Melons of various kinds are cultivated in great plenty in Canada. The water and musk melon are most general. They do not thrive so well about Quebec, as at Three Rivers and Montreal. They are sown frequently on hot-beds, but oftener in the open fields and gardens, and the summer heat is sufficient to ripen them without the aid of glases. A species of yellow fly is often very

destructive to the early plants, and sometimes totally destroys them. The Indians are as partial to melons as the French Canadians. It is however a subject of disputation, whether that fruit is a native of the country, or was introduced by Europeans. Gourds, pumpions, and cucumbers, are equally esteemed by the Habitans. The latter particularly are great favourites with them, and with a little salt and a piece of bread the cucumber often constitutes the dinner of the poorer class.

Vegetables of every description thrive well in Canada, and are in tolerable abundance at the markets. Those most in request by the French Canadians are onions, leaks, peas, beans, cabbages, and potatoes. The latter vegetable is now cultivated in large quantities all over Canada, but was scarcely known in the country before the conquest. The English settlers could not remain long without their favourite root, and soon commenced planting it. The French, who before that time declared they could find no relish in that vegetable, no sooner found that a good market was to be obtained for it, than they immediately followed their example, and by degrees came to relish what they had before looked upon as poisonous.

The Habitans are as poor gardeners as they are farmers. Those vegetables which require

some care and management are seldom brought to market in any perfection; and are consequently far inferior to ours, notwithstanding the soil and climate of Canada are as well adapted to them as that of England. The Canadians lay in a stock of vegetables and herbs, just before the winter sets in, which lasts their family till the following spring. Potatoes, carrots, turnips, parsnips, and beets, are preserved in the cellars, in sand. Cabbages, onions, &c., are hung up in the garrets of the gentry, and in the kitchens and sitting-rooms of the lower orders. A common Habitant's house, at that season of the year, exhibits regular rows of onions, leeks, cabbages, and paper bags of dried herbs, all which regale the nose, as well as the eye, and render a night's lodging in one of their apartments by no means enviable.

Bread is not cheap in Canada, and generally of very indifferent quality, though several Scotch bakers have emigrated to that country. They complain of the want of yeast at certain seasons; but I believe their bad bread is oftener occasioned by the indifferent flour which they purchase of the Habitans in the market-place at a low price, and which they mix with the better sort of flour supplied from the mills of Colonel Caldwell, Messrs. Coltman, and others. Considerable quantities of flour also come from

Upper Canada, but they are generally for exportation.

The price of bread is regulated every month by the magistrates, who affix it according to the price of flour the preceding month. The white loaf of 4 lbs. and the brown loaf of 6 lbs. are sold at one price, which, upon an average, during the time I remained in Canada, was about tenpence sterling, nearly equal to the English quartern loaf at eleven-pence, a price which cannot be called reasonable in a country that produces such an abundance of wheat for exportation; though that is most likely the cause of its high price.

Within the last twenty years great quantities of wheat have been raised in Canada, and exported to Great Britain. The temporary scarcity experienced in England, at certain periods, increased the demand for that article, and encouraged the Canadians to cultivate with more spirit than, till then, they had been accustomed to. The demand did not always answer their expectations, and has been for some years in a decreasing state. In 1796 only 3,106 bushels were exported, in 1802 the exports of wheat had increased to 1,010,033 bushels, and in 1808 it had fallen to 186,708 bushels. The average price of wheat September 1808 was seven shillings and sixpence sterling per bushel.

Colonel Caldwell has four or five large mills, in the district of Quebec, for grinding wheat. They are reckoned the best in the province, and are superintended by his son, who possesses considerable mechanical abilities, a great portion of the machinery having been improved under his direction. They employ European and Canadian workmen, and several Americans from the States, whom they engage for a certain term. The Colonel is possessed of large property, consisting chiefly of seignories and townships. It is said that he obtained the greatest part of his landed property, by purchasing, at a very cheap rate, the lots which fell to the share of the soldiers belonging to several regiments that were disbanded in Canada. It was certainly a very poor remuneration for long services, for the Canadian government to grant lots of land to the soldiers, upon which fees of four or five pounds each were to be paid to the government clerks. The men could not raise the money, and were obliged to dispose of their lots, consisting of two hundred acres each, for not more than thirty or forty shillings the lot. Colonel Caldwell is receiver-general of Lower Canada, and receives a salary of four hundred pounds per annum. He was an ensign in Wolfe's army at the capture of Quebec, and at the conclusion of the war settled in the

country. He is a very respectable old gentleman, and much esteemed throughout the province.

Within these few years, three or four extensive breweries have been established at Quebec. The first, I believe, was begun by Messrs. Young and Ainslie, who had also a very large distillery at Beauport. The success of these gentlemen, it is said, prompted Messrs. Lester and Morrogh to set up the Cape Diamond Brewery; which unfortunate opposition ended in the failure of both. Some smaller concerns have also risen into notice, and with the two former, which are now in the possession of other proprietors, supply Quebec and the rest of the country with ale, porter, and table beer. That which is called mild ale is in most request, and sells for sixty shillings the hogshead. Table beer is twenty shillings. A few years ago very little barley was raised in Canada. At present there is more than sufficient to supply the breweries; a circumstance which shows that the Canadians are not disinclined to exert themselves, when their efforts are likely to turn to a good account.

Hops are supplied by a Mr. Hullett, who resides at Sillery, about four miles above Quebec. He purchased the beach between the mountain and the water side, as far as Wolfe's Cove. Part of this he inclosed, and converted it into an

excellent hop-ground; the remainder he rents out to the merchants, for culling and stowing their timber and staves. It is on this shore, from his house down to L'Ance des Mères, that the Americans lay all their rafts of timber, planks, and staves, which they bring from Lake Champlain down the river Chambly. Here it is culled and sold to the merchants, who contract with government, or otherwise dispose of it to their agents in England. Mr. Hullett was fortunate enough to purchase this property for a very trifling sum, and from his improvements it is now become extremely valuable. His hop-plantation succeeds to the utmost of his wishes, and is as extensive as the ground will permit. It is sheltered from the bleak N.W. blasts by the lofty and extensive mountain, or high land, which commences at Quebec, and continues along the river to Cape Rouge, where it subsides into a valley. This spot was formerly occupied by a French religious institution for the conversion and instruction of the Indians. It was founded in 1637, and at one time was inhabited by twelve French families. Two old stone houses, and the remains of a small chapel, are all that exist of that settlement. This spot is remarkable for the interest given to it by Mrs. Brookes, in her Emily Montague. The Algonquins once had a village in the neighbourhood of this place; and hieroglyphics cut on trees,

as well as several of their burying-places, are yet visible in different parts of the woods. The hops produced here are equal to those of English growth, and the soil and climate appear to be extremely well adapted to their cultivation. Exclusive of the quantity supplied by Mr. Hullett, hops are also imported into Canada from England, and the United States, and sell for eighteen pence per pound.

The generality of the wine drunk in Canada is of an inferior quality. A few of the principal people who do not regard the expense, import a better sort for their own consumption; but the best wines would never answer the purposes of the merchants. Madeira is the favourite wine of the inhabitants; but, unfortunately for them, they seldom or never drink it in perfection. The excellent London particular, which they prize so highly, and which the merchants puff off so much, is nothing more than a compound of Teneriffe, Sicilian, or Lisbon wines, with a few gallons of new Madeira. This *choice* wine is sold at sixty or seventy pounds per pipe. Their Port, which sells at about seventy pounds, is equally bad; and if by chance a pipe or two of superior quality arrives, it becomes a mere drug in the merchant's store; for their taste is so vitiated by the bad wine in common use, that they do not know how to appreciate the good when it is offered them. Their

spirits are very little better than their wines. Brandy and hollands are not worth noticing, except that the former is most execrable Spanish, and sells for ten shillings per gallon. Their rum is new and of a very indifferent quality, yet it is drunk the most of any other liquor. Old rum is unknown. In the year 1807, 380,130 gallons were imported from Great Britain and her colonies, and were retailed at five shillings and sixpence per gallon. An article has only to be cheap to recommend it for sale in Canada; it is of little consequence what its qualities may be, if it is high priced; as in that case it will never answer for a Canadian market; that is, it will never bring the merchants fifty or one hundred per cent.

Refined and coarse sugars are reasonable. Loaf sugar is frequently to be bought at ninepence, and moist sugar at fourpence per lb. Teas are high, considering there is no duty upon them. Nearly the whole of the tea drunk in Canada is green, and is retailed from five to ten shillings per lb. The best hyson is sometimes twelve or fourteen. Souchong tea, so much used in England, is scarcely known: execrable bohea sells for from two shillings to three and sixpence. Teas are brought in large quantities from the United States. In 1807 the importation of that article was 42,000lbs., while the importation from England was only 4,500lbs. This is occasioned by

their procuring teas cheaper from the United States than from England, though they are greatly inferior in quality.

Coffee and chocolate are drunk principally by the French inhabitants. The quantity imported in 1807 was 19,598lbs. of coffee from Great Britain and her colonies, and 8,070lbs. chocolate from the United States, where manufactories of it are established. Both these articles are of inferior quality, and are retailed upon an average at two shillings per lb.

Manufactories of soap and candles are established at Quebec, and those articles are sold nearly at the same price as in London; if any thing, rather higher. The country people make their own soap and candles.

English cheese, in consequence of the loss frequently sustained on the voyage, bears a high price; and the small quantity which arrives safe, sells at two shillings, and two shillings and sixpence per lb. The deficiency is supplied by American cheese, some of which is tolerably good, but the greatest part is little better than our Suffolk cheese. It is imported in considerable quantities from the States, and is retailed at from sixpence to ninepence per lb. In 1807, 37,188lbs. were brought into Canada.

Tobacco, notwithstanding it is cultivated by almost every farmer in Canada, yet is imported

in large quantities both from England and the United States. In 1807, the following quantity was imported from those countries.

From Great Britain and her colonies:		
Leaf Tobacco . . .	151,578 lbs.	
Manufactured do. . .	1,145 lbs.	
		152,723
From the United States:		
Leaf Tobacco . . .	150,747 lbs.	
Manufactured do. . .	51,082 lbs.	
Snuff	16,058 lbs.	
		187,887
Difference in favour of the United States		35,164

Thus it appears that the United States have the advantage of Great Britain in the exportation of manufactured tobacco and snuff, to the amount of 65,995 lbs., and upon the whole article of tobacco to the amount of 35,164 lbs. Leaf tobacco sells from 9*d.* to 1*s.*, and the manufactured from 18*d.* to 2*s.*

Salt is procured chiefly from Liverpool. In 1807, upwards of 220,000 bushels were imported. The preceding winter there was a great scarcity of that article; and the last ship which arrived with it sold her cargo at 7*s.* 6*d.* per bushel. At one time during the winter it was as high as 12*s.* and 14*s.*; but the next spring it fell to 3*s.* 6*d.*,

which is generally the price at which it is retailed. Ships from Liverpool are most commonly ballasted with salt; and during the season of their arrival at Quebec some of the merchants purchase it from 15*d.* to 20*d.* per bushel, and monopolize it until the season is over, when no more supplies can be procured till the following spring.

A considerable quantity is annually exported to the United States. The Vermontese, on the confines of Canada, depend wholly on that country for their supply of salt, as they procure it much cheaper than from the sea-port towns in the New England states. These people salt large quantities of beef, pork, and butter; a great part of which they export to Canada. More than 250,000lbs. were received in 1807 from the United States.

Trades and professions, though not so numerous in Quebec and the other towns of Canada as in those of England, or even the United States, yet are much more so than is generally known; and there are few articles requisite for use in that country but what may be easily procured. There are saddlers, blacksmiths, carpenters, mill-wrights, potters, brewers, distillers, wheel-wrights, calash and cariole-builders, boat-builders, ship-builders, tanners, cabinet-makers, house-painters, bakers, tailors, tinmen, hatters, shoe-makers and sail-makers, block- and mast-makers, barbers and perfumers, auctioneers and brokers, spruce-beer

merchants, a hop-planter, a dancing-master, a few school-masters, and two music-masters; besides a quantum sufficit of physicians, surgeons, and practitioners in pharmacy; one of whom, who resides at Quebec, has "one of the neatest and best provided shops for the three branches in the province." There is no paucity of store-keepers and merchants; neither is there any lack of bishops, priests and curates, judges, advocates, notaries and magistrates, military men and tavern-keepers.

CHAPTER VII.

Climate of Lower Canada—Severity of the Cold—Drifting of the Snow in the Streets up to the Garret Windows—Frozen Channel—Passage over the broken Masses of Ice—Canoes—Noise of the floating Ice—Travelling in Winter—Warm Clothing—Frost-bitten Cheeks—Clear Sky—Supposed Alteration in the Climate—Journals of the Weather in 1745 *and* 1807*—Canadian Exaggeration—Use of Stoves—Open Fireplaces—Observations upon the Change of Climate—Longevity in Canada—Breaking up of the Ice—Arrival of the first Vessel—Progress of Vegetation—Wet Months—Thunder and Lightning—Severe Storm at Quebec—State of the Thermometer—Plagues of Canada—Scorching Summers—Agreeable Autumns.*

The climate of Lower Canada is liable to violent extremes of heat and cold; the thermometer is sometimes up to 103° of Fahrenheit in summer, and in winter 36 degrees below 0: these extremes do not, however, last above two or three days at a time. The average of summer heat is, in gene-

ral, from 75 to 80 degrees, and the mean of the cold in winter about 0.

During ten months which I remained in Quebec, from November 1806 to August 1807, I paid particular attention to the weather. We arrived at the latter end of October, at which time there was a very sharp frost, but no snow had fallen. During the early part of November the weather was at times very mild, with frequent rain and snow; the latter, however, never settled till the last week in that month, when scarce a day passed without a heavy fall of snow, sleet, or hail, which rendered this period extremely unpleasant, and generally confined us to the house.

When business obliged me to go out, I found the severity of the weather was excessive. The sleet and snow frequently froze as it beat in my face, and almost prevented me from walking along. Large bodies of snow drifted in the streets, in several places above the height of a man, and frequently rendered the passage impassable. In the narrow streets the snow reached up to the garret windows of the small houses; but, by the exertions of the inhabitants, was kept in the middle of the street, so as to leave a narrow passage between their houses and the high mound of snow.

This weather continued till about the middle of December, when the clouds dispersed, and the

rough boisterous snow storms were succeeded by a fine, clear, frosty air. The sky became serene, and assumed a bright azure hue, which, with little alteration, lasted till the month of March.

The last ship sailed from Quebec on the 5th December, at which time there was scarcely any ice in that part of the river; but so rapidly did it accumulate, that in less than two days after her departure, large masses were floating up and down with the tide. The vessel did not get further than Kamouraska, about 100 miles below Quebec, having been overtaken by a snow storm, which drove her on shore, where she was obliged to remain all the winter.

It is very hazardous for vessels to stay so late in the season before they leave Quebec; for the ice increases so incredibly fast in the course of a night, that the navigation of the river, which is clear one day, becomes the next morning impracticable.

The river, from Montreal downwards, generally freezes across as far as the rapids of Richlieu, which are situated about 45 miles above Quebec. From Richlieu to Quebec, the river is seldom completely frozen over. The ice continues all the winter to float up and down with the tide, increasing or diminishing with the severity or mildness of the weather.

The Island of Orleans, which divides the river

into two channels, contributes greatly to the accumulation of the ice in the neighbourhood of Quebec. On the north side of that island the channel is much narrower, and the tide less rapid than on the south side. The vast masses of ice which are therefore collected together in the basin that is formed by the end of the islands, the shores of Beauport, Point Levi, and Quebec, generally block up the north channel about the first week in January, and open a communication between the inhabitants of the island and Quebec. This bridge of ice is always anxiously looked for by both parties; the one to sell, and the other to buy, the large stock of provisions which the islanders prepare for market at the commencement of winter.

The people of Orleans, besides the advantage of a more fruitful soil, are reckoned better farmers than their neighbours; their provisions are therefore more prized than those of the other Habitans.

Another part of the river between Quebec and the opposite shore of Point Levi is sometimes, though very rarely, frozen over. This is occasioned more by accident than the severity of the weather, and happened only for a few hours one day, during my residence in Canada. The Canadians call this the *pont* or bridge, as it affords the inhabitants of the south shore the same convenience as the islanders enjoy, of carrying their

provisions to the Quebec market in sleighs across the ice. As this so seldom occurs, they cannot, of course, often enjoy that convenience; but it only serves to stimulate them to greater exertions, and it is wonderful to see with what dexterity they bring over their provisions in canoes across the large bodies of floating ice.

Eight or ten men, accompanied frequently by two or three women, with a canoe laden with meat and vegetables, seize a favourable moment when the tide is slack, and paddle from the shore to the nearest *mass* of ice; there they disembark, haul the canoe across, and launch it in the largest space of water adjoining. When all are embarked, they paddle to the next floating body of ice, and disembarking again, drag their canoe to the opposite side, where they once more reimbark, and pursue the same course, perhaps, over a dozen other pieces of ice, and intermediate spaces of water, until they arrive at Quebec, where they dispose of their provisions, and return at the next slack tide in the same manner.

The canoes are hollowed out of the trunks of large elm trees. The larger sort are made of two trees, properly shaped and hollowed, and secured together in the centre. The seam is caulked and pitched, and the bottom and sides strengthened with thwarts. They are capable of carrying upwards of a dozen people, besides large stocks of

provisions. The French Canadians never make use of any other than these wooden canoes. The Indians use canoes of bark taken from the birch-tree. They are extremely light, and very liable to be upset, and perforated, by persons unacquainted with the management of them.

The ice floating up and down opposite Quebec, makes a hollow crashing noise in its progress, extremely well suited to, and in unison with, the gloomy splendour of the scene. This continues till the latter end of April, when the ice disappears as suddenly as it came. After the ice from Lake St. Peter has passed, it is gone in the course of a night: not a vestige remains.

When the snow ceases to fall, about the last week in December, it then hardens into a solid body, and horses, sleighs, and carioles, pass over it with great facility. But as the snow only covers thinly the elevated parts of the ground over which it drives, and settles in hollows and declivities to a great depth, as well as drifting into heaps at every little obstacle in its way; the people at the commencement of winter level all their fences on the road side with the ground, except the standard posts, into which the rails are again put in the spring. The snow has thus a free passage between, and lies even upon the ground. If it was not for this precaution, the roads would be intolerably bad, and perhaps im-

passable. The fields and roads covered with the snow, present a dreary and vacant scene to the eye. The fences and rail posts are buried underneath, which obliges the inhabitants to stick up small branches of fir and pine in the snow, in order to mark out the road, as one fall of snow in the night would obliterate the track of the carioles, and people might lose their way. These evergreens at equal distances have a pleasant effect, and afford some relief to the white and monotonous appearance of the snowy plains.

The cold at certain periods is excessive, and would be often dangerous if the people were not so well guarded against its effects by warm clothing. When travelling, they wrap themselves up in buffalo robes, exclusive of the great coats, fur caps, mittens, and Shetland hose, which they wear whenever they go out of doors. The warmest clothing, indeed, is absolutely necessary, as they are exposed to the inclemency of the weather in open carioles or sleighs, and the situation of the driver, who sits or stands up in front, is by no means enviable. On some of the coldest days, when walking, I have found my English surtout sufficient; but, when sitting in an open cariole, exposed to the keen and piercing wind, the severity of which was increased by the velocity of the horse and vehicle, a thick great coat with a lining of shamois leather was not suffi-

cient to keep warmth within me, without the aid of a large buffalo robe. These robes, as they are called by the Canadians, are merely the hides of buffaloes, which are dressed, and lined with green baize; they are very thick, and with the hair on them effectually prevent the cold air from penetrating.

The greatest degree of cold experienced during the winter I remained at Quebec, was on the 15th February, when the thermometer fell 30 degrees below 0. The preceding month it had been several times as low as 15 and 18, and at one time 26 degrees below 0. The greatest degree of cold which I have heard of in Canada was 36 below 0. On the coldest days I have walked through the town, and with the wind at my back suffered very little inconvenience; but when I turned about, I found, as the keen air blew on my face, that my cheeks became numbed and insensible, and would most likely have been frost-bitten, had I not rubbed them briskly with my hands, and restored the circulation of the blood. It is not uncommon on those severe days for people to have their cheeks, nose, or ears, frost-bitten; and often before they are aware of it. It is then dangerous to approach the fire hastily. The frost-bitten parts must be rubbed with snow until the blood circulates, otherwise mortification would in all probability ensue.

The winter from Christmas to Lady-day is almost always remarkable for a fine, clear, azure sky seldom obscured by fogs or clouds; and the dry frosty weather is rarely interrupted by falls of snow, sleet, or rain. These advantages render a Canadian winter so agreeable and pleasant, that the inhabitants are never under the necessity of changing their dress, from any sudden alteration of the weather, unless it is to discard their great coats and fur caps, which is rendered necessary sometimes by the powerful warmth of the sun, whose beams are scarcely ever intercepted by a single cloud. The aurora borealis is common in Canada, and frequently illuminates the winter evening with its playful light.

On my return to Canada from the United States in May 1808, I was informed that the preceding winter had been unusually mild, the weather open, and subject to frequent falls of snow and rain; so much so, that the inhabitants were repeatedly deprived of the pleasures of carioling. This remarkable exception to the general character of the Canadian winters is a singular circumstance, but it is no proof that the severity of the climate is abating. I shall offer a few observations upon that subject.

It is the general opinion of the inhabitants that the winters are milder, and that less snow falls now than formerly; that the summers are

also hotter. This might be easily accounted for by the improved state of the country. The clearing of the woods, and cultivation of the lands, together with the increased population, must naturally have a considerable effect upon the climate. The immense forests, which before interposed their thick foliage between the sun and the earth, and prevented the latter from receiving that genial warmth which was necessary to qualify its rigorous atmosphere, are now considerably thinned, or entirely destroyed, in various parts of the country. The powerful rays of the sun now meet with little obstruction; the cultivated soil imbibes its heat, and returns it again to the surrounding air in warm and humid vapours. Added to this, the exhalations arising from so many thousands of men and cattle, together with the burning of so many combustibles, must greatly contribute to soften the severity of the climate. Yet with all these truths, which amount nearly to a demonstration of the fact, and apparently substantiated by the opinion of the inhabitants, I do not find, upon reference to a meteorological journal, that so great an alteration has taken place, at least within the last sixty years, as the circumstances I have mentioned would seem to justify.

In this old journal for the year 1745 it is observed, that on the 29th January of that year the

river St. Lawrence near Quebec was covered with ice, but that in preceding years it had frequently been covered in the beginning of that month, or about the end of December. Now, during my stay at Quebec in 1806, the river was covered with ice by the *first week* in December, and a ship was prevented from going to Europe. Thus the winter commenced at least *three weeks* sooner in 1806 than in 1745.

In March 1745 the journal mentions, that it had been a very mild winter, that the snow was only two feet deep, and the ice in the river of the same thickness. In 1806 the snow was upon an average, in the vicinity of Quebec, at least four feet in depth, and the ice in the river more or less as it accumulated in floating with the tide. Many pieces were from twelve to sixteen feet in depth, and others still more.

On the 20th April 1745 the ice in the river broke near Quebec, and went down. It is observed, however, in the journal, that it seldom happened so soon, for the river opposite Quebec was sometimes covered with ice on the 10th of May. On the 7th April that year the gardeners had begun to make hot beds, and on the 25th many of the farmers had begun to sow their corn.

In April 1807 the ice began to break up about the third week. On the 28th the ice from Lake St. Peter, above Three Rivers, came down, and

crowded the river and shores in the neighbourhood of Quebec with large masses. In the midst of this, with the flood tide, a vessel arrived at Quebec from Liverpool, being the first of the season. It was a very dangerous experiment, and excited the surprise of the inhabitants, who said that such an early arrival was very uncommon. By the 3rd of May the ice was entirely gone.

Strawberries were to be had at Quebec on the 22nd June 1745. But in 1807 we could not procure them till about the 15th or 20th of July; and while I remained at Three Rivers, in the summer of 1808, it was the second week of July before the strawberries were ripe in that neighbourhood.

On 22nd August 1745 the harvest began in the vicinity of Quebec. In 1807 and 1808 it was above a week or ten days later, though the summer of the latter year was remarkably hot. An observation in the old journal states, that the corn was never ripe in years preceding 1745 till about the 15th September; and that corn seldom arrives at its proper maturity in Canada, except in very hot summers.

The Habitans continued to plough in 1745 till the 10th November. As late as the 18th the cattle went out of doors; and on the 24th there was no ice in the St. Lawrence.

On the 1st December of the same year, the journal mentions as remarkable, that a ship could set sail for France, the river being then so clear of ice; that on the 16th the river was covered with ice on both sides, but open in the middle, and on the 26th the ice was all washed away by a heavy rain; but on the 28th part of the river was again covered with it.

Now, in the first week of December in 1806 and 1807 vessels were obliged to leave Quebec on account of the vast bodies of floating ice with which the river was covered, and which continued during those winters.

From these statements it appears evident, that an *improvement* in the climate of Canada is extremely doubtful. It has also been observed by some of the religious orders who were in the practice of keeping meteorological journals, that the winters half a century ago were as hard as in former years, though somewhat shorter, and the summers rather longer, but not hotter, than they used to be.

The winters sometimes differ so materially from each other, as well as the summers, that no accurate estimate can be formed, sufficient to ascertain whether the changes that take place are occasioned by any increase or diminution of the severity of the climate. It is possible that a very hot summer, by heating the soil beyond

the usual depth, may occasion the mildness of the subsequent winter. As to the statements of the inhabitants, they are influenced more by their own feelings, than by any accurate observation. They are also fond of exaggerating the rigour of their winters to strangers; and when I observed to several that neither the cold nor the quantity of snow and ice answered my expectations, they replied, that the winters were milder than formerly: yet it appears that the winter of 1806-7 was severer and longer than that of 1745-6. The Canadians, however, feel the cold more than Europeans on their first arrival. The constant use of stoves renders them very little better than hot house plants during winter, and in summer they are exposed to a burning sun. These things do not affect the European constitution for the first two or three years, but afterwards it becomes as sensible to the heat and cold as that of the Canadians. It may astonish those who have heard such dreadful accounts of a Canadian winter, when I assert it as a fact, that the people of Great Britain suffer more from the cold than the people of Canada; or at least they are more exposed to it; for they seldom make any material alteration in their dress, either summer or winter; and, with their open fire-places, they are burning on one side and freezing on the other. This, however, hardens the constitution of an Englishman,

while the stoves and warm clothing of Canada, which often heat the body beyond what the climate requires, weaken and debilitate the frames of those who reside in that country. A proper attention, however, to heat and cold is all that is requisite for an European to enjoy the most perfect health in Lower Canada. By the same mode of life that he enjoys health in England, he may live to a good old age in that country.

During my stay in Canada I was careful in noting those periods at which the winter began and finished; and also those circumstances at particular seasons, which denote the mildness or severity of the weather. I have not judged of the climate merely by my own feelings, as to heat and cold, because such conclusions must be incorrect, when applied to the feelings of others whose constitutions and temperaments may be totally different from mine. I have stated facts which came immediately under my own observation; and by comparing them with the observations of others who had attended minutely to the subject, the reader will be better able to form a correct judgement for himself, as to the melioration of climate which is generally supposed to have taken place in Canada. It is an interesting question, because it involves the truth of that universally-received opinion, that the clearing and cultivation of lands effect a very considerable improvement in

the climate. Were I to form an opinion on the subject, it would be, that the clearing and cultivation of land in Canada have occasioned a certain degree of *alteration* in the climate without *improving* it; that the winters are as cold, and the summers as hot, as they were before the settlement of the country, but that the weather is more variable and inconstant. The country, however, is yet new, and the cultivated parts bear but a small proportion to the immense wildernesses that yet exist. It is too much, therefore, to expect that any very important change can have taken place in the climate of that country.

The months of March and April are in general very hot, and the sun then begins to have great power, which is considerably heightened by the reflection of the snow and ice. The inhabitants are more tanned by the reflection of the snow in these months than they are at any other season of the year by the sun. It is likewise so very hurtful to the eyes, that they are obliged to wear shades of green gauze fastened to their hats.

The snow begins to melt early in April, and by the second or third week it is generally all gone. During this period it is dreadful walking in town, and as bad travelling in the country. The streets of Quebec are inundated with snow-water, and the kennels have the appearance and sound of so many little rapids. The ice in the river is seldom totally

gone before the first week in May. The breaking up of the ice in the vicinity of Quebec is not attended with any remarkable noise or appearance; but at Montreal, and the upper parts of the river, where it is frozen quite across, I am told it has a grand appearance, and breaks up with loud reports. The lake ice comes down in prodigious quantities for several days, bringing with it the roots and branches of trees which it tears from the islands and shores in its progress. Until these have passed, none of the river vessels can leave Quebec for Montreal. Vessels, however, sometimes arrive from Europe in the midst of them, as was the case in 1807. The first vessel that arrived from Europe in 1808 came up to Quebec on the 19th of April, nine days earlier than the preceding year. The river however was full of ice, which floated with the tide in large masses. The vessel was forced ashore on the island a few days before she got up to the town, and was near being lost.

The progress of vegetation, as soon as the winter is over, is exceedingly rapid. The trees obtain their verdant foliage in less than three weeks The fields, which the autumn before were apparently burnt up, are now adorned with the richest verdure. Nature seems anxious to arouse from the lethargy into which she had been thrown by the chilling blasts of winter, and to exchange her hoary raiment for one more splendid and magnificent. Spring can

scarcely be said to exist before summer is at hand. The productions of the field and the garden are brought in quick succession to the markets; and fresh meat, poultry, and vegetables, now regale the inhabitants, who for so many months had been confined to their frozen provisions.

The months of May and June are often wet; sometimes greatly to the detriment of husbandry. In the spring of 1807 the weather was unusually wet from the latter end of April until the 10th of June, when it cleared up, after a most violent thunder storm which happened on the 9th. During May, scarcely a day passed without rain, and the weather was excessively changeable: Fahrenheit's thermometer was sometimes as high as 75, and at other times as low as 20, in the course of four-and twenty hours. The farmers had not finished sowing by the middle of June, though they in general get all their wheat into the ground by the 20th of May. Some people are of opinion, that sowing late answers best in Canada, as the ground has then time to imbibe the heat of the sun after the snow has melted; and that wheat sown in June is ripe as soon as that sown in May. The practice of the Canadian farmers is, however, contrary to this theory.

Thunder and lightning do not very often visit Canada; but when they do, their violence is great, and damage generally ensues. The storm

on the 9th of June 1807 was the most violent combination of thunder, lightning, and rain, that I ever witnessed. It began in the forenoon, and continued without intermission till midnight. The weather had been very sultry, and the thunder and lightning followed each other in quick succession all day, accompanied by heavy showers of rain. But when night came on, the lightning was uncommonly strong and vivid. The whole sky was illuminated every moment, while it played in forky mazes through the air. The thunder rolled in long and dreadful peals over the lofty chain of mountains in the vicinity of Quebec; while the valleys echoed with the fulminating voice of Nature, which seemed to threaten the dissolution of all her works. Upwards of sixty vessels were in the river, and I was greatly alarmed for their safety. Our house being situated close to the water-side, I had an extensive view of this sublime and awful spectacle, for many miles distant over the south shore, the island of Orleans, and the mountains to the northward. Fortunately, no accident of consequence happened, though the electric fluid darted to the earth in all directions, and from eight to ten o'clock at night its action was so rapid and incessant, that my eyes became painful in beholding such a continued glare of light.

In 1806 a house near the ramparts was struck

by lightning, and one side considerably damaged. No lives were lost: but a few years ago a child was struck dead in one of the streets of Quebec, and several cattle destroyed.

This violent storm had a good effect upon the weather, which before then had been very wet and changeable. It now became dry, mild, and serene, and afforded the farmers an opportunity of completing their sowing. The following is a tolerably correct state of Fahrenheit's thermometer in the shade during the summer of 1807:

	Lowest.	*Highest.*	
May	20	75	continual rain.
June	50	90	rain the first week, afterwards dry & warm.
July	55	96	dry and sultry.
August	68	90	fine warm weather with little rain.
September	46	78	fine mild weather.

The spring, summer, and autumn of Canada are all comprised in these five months. The rest of the year may be said to consist wholly of winter. The month of October is sometimes agreeable; but Nature has then put on her gloomy mantle, and the chilling blasts from the north-west remind the Canadians of the approach of snow and ice. November and April are the two most disagreeable months. In the one the snow is falling, in the other it is going away. Both of them confine the people to their houses, and render travelling uncomfortable, and even dangerous: nor can the inhabitants of Canada enjoy

their fine summer months, with that comfort and pleasure experienced in Europe.

One of the greatest plagues to which they are subject, is in my opinion the common house-flies. It is not decided whether they are natives of the country or were imported; I think, however, that their boldness and assurance exceed their European brethren. The torment which these insects occasion in the months of June, July, and August, is beyond conception. Your room must be entirely darkened, or it is impossible to remain undisturbed; the warmer and lighter it is, the more numerous and active the flies will be, and the greater will be your suffering. The stoves keep them alive in winter, but the sun restores them to their full vigour and power of annoying in the summer. I have sat down to write, and have been obliged to throw my pen away in consequence of their irritating bite, which has obliged me every moment to raise my hand to my eyes, nose, mouth, and ears, in constant succession. When I could no longer write, I began to read, and was always obliged to keep one hand constantly on the move towards my head. Sometimes in the course of a few minutes I would take half a dozen of my tormentors from my lips, between which I caught them just as they perched. In short, while sitting quiet in a chair, I was continually worried by

them ; and as it has been justly observed of the same insects in Russia, none but those who have suffered could believe them capable of so much torment.

At length, when my patience was exhausted within doors, I would put on my hat and walk out, thinking to enjoy the delightful zephyrs which often frolic in the atmosphere at that season of the year; but in less than five minutes I was oppressed by the scorching beams of the meridian sun. To avoid a *coup de soleil*, I retreated to a thick shady grove, which seemed inviting me to take shelter under its umbrageous foliage; but as if to bring my sufferings to a climax, I was immediately surrounded by myriads of musquitoes, sand flies, and other venomous insects, whose repeated attacks upon my face, hands, and legs, compelled me reluctantly to return to my old tormentors at home, who, though equally teasing, are certainly not so venomous as their long-legged brethren.

The sting of the musquito is trifling at first, but the next day is extremely painful, and sometimes dangerous if violently rubbed. The best remedy is to wash the part with some powerful acid. Lemon-juice, or vinegar, has relieved me frequently from the painful irritation which its venom excites. The brulôts, or sand-flies, are so very small as to be hardly perceptible in their

attacks; and your forehead will be streaming with blood before you are sensible of being amongst them. These are the only disagreeable things which are attached to a Canadian summer: were it free from them, it would be equal to that of any other country in the world; but as it is, a burning sun, house-flies, musquitoes, and sand-flies, certainly prevent the finest months of the year from being enjoyed in full perfection.

The summer of 1808 was the hottest that has been known for several years in Canada. In the months of July and August the thermometer was several times at 90 and 95, and one or two days it rose to 103 in the shade, at Montreal and Three Rivers. At Quebec it was 101 or 102. I was at Three Rivers during those months: the soil of that town is sandy, and I think I never experienced in my life such an oppressive heat. It appears that it was unusually hot about that time in England, and I suppose it was the same upon the Continent.

The fall of the year is the most agreeable season in Canada. The sultry weather is then gone, and the night frosts have entirely destroyed or palsied the efforts of the venomous insects. The inhabitant of Canada has then no house-flies, no sand flies, musquitoes, nor *coups de soleil* to fear. He can then, and then only, walk abroad, range the woods, or sit at home, with ease and comfort to himself.

CHAPTER VIII.

Soil of Lower Canada — Meadows — Cultivated Lands — Mode of Farming — Few Orchards — Indian Corn — Tobacco — Culinary Roots — Seigniory of Grondines — Barren Soil — Price of Land — Gradual Improvement — Want of Enterprise among the Canadians — Formed themselves on the Model of their Forefathers — View of the Shores of the St. Lawrence — Extensive Chain of Settlements — Beautiful Scene — Settlement at Stoneham Township — Clearing of Land — Canadian Cattle — The first Horse seen in Canada — Poultry — American Horse-Dealers — Rough Treatment of Canadian Horses.

The soil of Lower Canada is very various, and is more or less fertile as it approaches to the north or south. From Father Point (the lowest settlement on the south shore) to Kamouraska but little is cultivated, and that little yields a crop only with considerable labour. From Kamouraska to the Island of Orleans, both on the north and south shores, the soil gradually improves, and in some parishes on the south side great quantities of grain are produced. The

average crop is about 12 bushels an acre. Of the soil in the vicinity of Quebec, the island of Orleans is reckoned the best. This island is diversified with high and low lands, steep and sloping shores, covered with wood or converted into meadows and corn-fields. The soil is sufficiently fertile to afford the inhabitants a large surplus of productions beyond their own consumption, which they dispose of at Quebec.

On the north and south shores in the neighbourhood of Quebec, the soil on the elevated parts but thinly covers an immense bed of black lime slate, which as it becomes exposed to the air shivers into thin pieces, or crumbles into dust. There are, however, some excellent pasture and meadow lands on the borders of the river of St. Charles; and they indeed extend generally over that low land or valley which lies between the heights of Quebec and the villages of Beauport, Charlesbourg, and Lorette.

The meadows of Canada, which have most commonly been corn-fields, are reckoned superior to those in the more southern parts of America. They possess a fine close turf, well covered at the roots with clover. They cannot be mown more than once a year, in consequence of the spring commencing so late. In autumn they exchange their beautiful green for a light brown hue, which gives them the appearance of being scorched

by the sun. It is two or three weeks after the snow is gone before they recover their natural colour. This is the case all over America, whose pastures, during the autumnal and winter months, never possess that rich and lively verdure which they do in England.

The high lands with good management would yield very tolerable crops, but the Canadians are miserable farmers. They seldom or never manure their land, and plough so very slight and careless, that they continue, year after year, to turn over the same clods which lie at the surface, without penetrating an inch deeper into the soil. Hence their grounds become exhausted, overrun with weeds, and yield but very scanty crops. The fields of wheat which I have seen in different parts of the country, were often much choked with weeds, and appeared to be stinted in their growth. When cut down, the straw was seldom more than 18 or 20 inches long, the ears small, and the wheat itself discoloured, and little more than two-thirds of the size of our English wheat. The wheat about Montreal appeared to be the best which came under my observation. It was generally clear of weeds, and seemed to have attained its full growth. It must however be observed, that there is nearly a month difference in the climate between Montreal and Quebec. The former is situated in latitude 45° 30, Three

Rivers in 46° 25′, and Quebec in 46° 55′. The French Canadians sow only summer wheat, though I should think that winter wheat might be sown in autumn with success. Peas, oats, rye, and barley, are sown more or less by every farmer; though the largest crops of these, as well as wheat, appeared to be in the island of Montreal and its vicinity.

The French Canadians seldom trouble themselves with gardens or orchards; while their neighbours in the United States would not feel happy without a large plantation of apple-, pear-, and peach-trees adjoining their houses. Except in the Island of Montreal, very little fruit is grown; and that island, for its fertility in every production, may justly be called the garden of Lower Canada.

The farmers assist each other at harvest time, labourers being in some places very scarce, and in others not to be procured. The wheat is sown early in May, and is ripe generally about the latter end of August. The Canadians sow small quantities of maize or Indian corn; they, however, do not make such general use of it as the people of the United States, who feed their cattle upon it, and make hominy and bread of it for themselves. The Canadians cultivate it more as an article of luxury than of necessity. They are extravagantly fond of the corn cobs boiled

or roasted, and rubbed over with a little butter and salt. They pick the corn off the cob in the same style, and with as much *goût*, as an alderman picks the wing of a fowl at a city feast.

Tobacco is grown in small quantities, and attended chiefly by the women, who are also fully employed in the other parts of husbandry. Each Habitant cultivates enough for his own consumption, and a small quantity generally for market. The Canadian tobacco possesses a very mild and agreeable flavour, totally devoid of those strong pungent qualities for which the Virginian tobacco is remarkable. It is grown on a small spot of ground close to the house: the roots are hoed and attended by the children or the females of the family. It might no doubt become an article of some importance, if properly attended to; but the scanty population is at present a check upon its being cultivated to any great extent. Culinary vegetables are raised in tolerable plenty. The favourite roots of the Habitans are onions, garlic, and leeks; of these they eat largely, and consequently smell abominably. The disagreeable effects of these strong esculents are, however, somewhat checked by the fumes of the tobacco plant, which they are smoking from morning to night.

With the exception of the seigniory of Grondines, the lands between Quebec and Three Rivers are remarkable neither for sterility nor

extraordinary fruitfulness. They are cultivated much in the same careless manner as the lands below them. Grondines, which is about 50 miles from Quebec, on the same side of the river, is a remarkable exception to the general quality of land in this part of the country. This seigniory, which is upwards of ten miles square, consists of one vast bed of gray rock or lime-stone, slightly covered with a poor soil about half a dozen inches in depth, intermingled with an immense quantity of loose stones, from which it is labour in vain to attempt to clear it. The people who reside on this barren spot, which gives birth only to pines and firs, are of course extremely poor, and scarcely able to procure enough for their subsistence.

Though the soil for some miles in the neighbourhood of Three Rivers is sandy and barren, yet the adjoining seigniories upwards, of Machiche and River du Loup, are extremely fertile, and yield abundant crops of grain. The lands on the south shore of the district of Three Rivers are also very good. The price of land varies according to its quality and state of cultivation. Good arable land, in the best situations, sells in Lower Canada for about 5*l.* per acre; indifferent land for 4 and 5 dollars; wood land at 2 dollars per acre; but in the back townships it may be bought at the sheriffs' sales for less than 6*d.*

The land continues to improve as you approach Montreal, from which district the greatest quantity of grain is procured. This gradual improvement in the soil continues all through Upper Canada, where it as much surpasses that of the lower province in fertility, as Montreal surpasses Kamouraska.

The French Canadians are not possessed of any agricultural enterprise or spirit. They are a perfect contrast to the inhabitants of the United States, who wander from forest to forest, extending cultivation to the remotest regions; while the Canadians have settled for upwards of two centuries upon the banks of the St. Lawrence, without attempting to remove from the spot, or explóre the recesses of the forests which surround them. This close association of the first settlers was no doubt occasioned by a variety of circumstances. Exposed at an early period to repeated attacks from the Indians, their safety depended on numbers, which a scattered settlement could not furnish in proper time. Their religion exacted from them numerous ceremonials, which required a strict and frequent observance. No situation could therefore be so well adapted for settlement, as the shores of a large and noble river, which, besides the richness of the soil and inviting prospects, afforded them a ready communication with each other, and, what was of

equal importance, the means of observing certain religious formalities, and providing subsistence at a time when their lands were yet uncultivated.

The present inhabitants, who have formed themselves on the model of their forefathers, conceive, either from affection for their parents or from an habitual indolence, that the same necessity exists for their adherence to each other. Few therefore ever think of emigrating from their paternal abode. The farm is separated by the father among his children, as long as it will last, and when its divisions can be no longer sub-divided, they reluctantly part.

The view which this extensive chain of farms exhibits along the lofty shores of the St. Lawrence, for more than 400 miles, is beautifully picturesque, and carries with it the appearance of one immense town: corn-fields, pasture and meadow lands, embellished at intervals with clumps of trees, snow-white cottages, and neatly adorned churches, alternately present themselves to the eye, in the midst of the rich and verdant foliage which shades the steep banks or sloping shores of that noble river; while the back ground of this rich landscape is closed by a chain of enormous mountains, or lengthened out beyond the compass of the human eye by interminable forests.

The interior of the country, from the settle-

ments on the north shore of the River St. Lawrence to the confines of Hudson's Bay, is entirely uncultivated, and uninhabited except by the fur traders, and some few Indian tribes or Esquimaux. No roads, no villages, nor towns, enliven that dreary and immense waste. The woodman's axe is never heard, nor the silent monotony which reigns in that lonely space ever disturbed except by the birds and beasts of the forest, or the solitary wanderings of the fur-trader and his party.

About fifteen years ago, an enterprising clergyman of the name of Toosey commenced a settlement on that side, in the township of Stoneham, about 15 miles north of Quebec. For a few years it flourished under the fostering care of its projector, but when he died the settlement fell into decay. At this day the ruins of the house, and cornfields overrun with rank grass and weeds, are all that remain of the fond hopes and expectations of their sanguine owner. Mr. Weld speaks of this settlement in his Travels: at that period it was in the height of its prosperity; and though several persons at Quebec joined Mr. Toosey in procuring the township, none of them were induced to settle there. One cause of complaint was the distance, which they consider too far from town.

On the south side, adjoining the boundaries of

the United States, the interior is settling fast; not however by the French Canadians, but by Americans from the States, who set themselves down with very little ceremony upon the different townships bordering on their country, and begin to clear the woods, and cultivate the land, often without the knowledge or consent of its proprietors. The Canadian Government seems to encourage their emigration from the States. Whether it is good policy or not, is extremely doubtful. They are certainly enterprising settlers, and improve a country more in two or three years than the French Canadians do in a century.

The cattle in Canada are rather diminutive, being mostly of the small Norman breed. If they have not degenerated in size by their emigration, they have certainly not improved. The horses are strong and swift, many of them handsome; but they are mere ponies, compared in size with the English horse. There is a larger breed about 90 miles below Quebec, which are generally bought up for heavy work. The first horse seen in Canada arrived in the ship Le Havre on the 16th of July 1665. It appears that neither sheep nor horned cattle were in the province long before that time.

Their cows and oxen are small, lean, and poor: keeping them so many months confined in stalls, during which they are poorly fed, contributes

much to their meagre appearance. The oxen are sometimes used for the plough, or in carts; in which service they always draw with their horns.

The sheep are small, and have but little fleece. European breeds have degenerated very much in the course of time, in Canada, as well as in other parts of America. The wool is coarse, but answers the purposes of the Habitans, who clothe themselves with it.

Swine are very numerous in Canada, for they constitute the chief subsistence of the French Canadians. The breed is but very indifferent, though many attain to considerable size. They are a long-legged, narrow-backed species, very inferior to the English breed, of which there are but few in that country. Swine are such a hardy race of animals, that I do not think they could have degenerated much in Canada: I have very little doubt, therefore, that the breed was originally poor.

The poultry are in general very good, and consist of turkeys, geese, ducks, and fowls. The turkeys are particularly hardy, and frequently roost upon the trees, exposed to the severity of the winter. The farmers keep only a sufficient number of cattle for their own consumption, and for breeding during the winter; the rest they kill, and take to market.

The Americans from the States carry on a

lucrative traffic with the Canadians for their horses. The latter are very fond of a horse which runs with a quick shuffling pace, and the Americans bring in with them a parcel of rickety animals which possess that accomplishment. The Canadian willingly exchanges his fine little horse for the pacer, and often gives a few pounds to boot. The Americans return with the Canadian horses to Boston or New York, and there obtain 30 or 40*l.* for each, according to their value, while in Canada they rarely sell for more than 10 or 12*l.* The Canadians are reckoned very adroit at a bargain, and even fond of overreaching; but they sink in comparison with an American horse-dealer.

The horses are treated very roughly in Canada. The Habitans suffer them to stand in the markets, or at places where they stop to drink, in the severest weather, without any covering, while they are often wet with perspiration. Sometimes they are covered with hoar-frost, and long icicles hang from their nostrils to the ground. I have seen a horse in a cariole stand in the Quebec market-place till its two fore-fetlock joints were frozen stiff, and the hoofs turned in. The driver afterwards came out of the tavern, and drove away at a round trot.

CHAPTER IX.

Population of Lower Canada—Different Statements reconciled—Census of the Province—Present Number of Inhabitants—Statistical Statement for 1808—*Irish and Scotch Emigrants —French Settlers — Acadians—Character of the French Habitans, or Countrymen—Description of their Houses—Cleanly Maxims—Picture of the Interior of a Habitant House—Mode of Living among the Canadian Peasantry—Anecdote of a Dish of Tea—Pernicious Effects of Rum—Fracas in the Market-Place—Drunkenness of the Market-People—Portrait of the Habitant—Old-fashioned Dress of the Women—Resources of the Habitans.*

The population of Canada has in the course of the last forty years more than trebled itself. The first census after the English conquered the country was made by General Murray in 1765. This estimate falls considerably short of the population of 1758, as mentioned by Mr. Heriot in his recent work. Mr. H. states, that "the white inhabitants of Canada amounted in 1758 to 91,000, exclusive of the regular troops, who were augmented or diminished as the circum-

stances or exigencies of the country might require; that the domiciliated Indians, who were collected into villages in different situations in the colony, were about 16,000; and the number of French and Canadians, resident in Quebec, was nearly 8000." If the Indians and inhabitants of Quebec are not included in the first number, and I suppose the Indians are not, as Mr. H. particularly mentions *white* inhabitants, the total population, exclusive of regular troops, would then be 115,000. The province of Canada was not divided into Upper and Lower till the year 1792; the census therefore, that was taken antecedent to that period, included the population of the whole colony.

I am not acquainted with the source from whence Mr. Heriot derived his information; but the census of General Murray, seven years subsequent to 1758, stated the entire population of the province to be, exclusive of the king's troops, 76,275. This number included the Indians, who were stated to amount only to 7,400. Here is a vast and surprising *decrease* of the inhabitants in the course of seven years; and upon the supposition that the numbers in 1758 were 115,000, there is a loss of no less than 38,725: but taking it only at 91,000, still there is a decrease of 14,725 of the colonists and native inhabitants. We may easily suppose that a long war, and finally the subjugation of the country by a power totally op-

posite in national manners, character, and principles, must have occasioned a considerable diminution of its population; for, besides those who were lost in battle, numbers no doubt emigrated to old France, or to other countries where they might find a government more congenial to their habits and sentiments.

If we look at the number of Indians whom Mr. H. states to have been domiciliated in the province in 1758, and the number given in by the census of 1765, we shall there alone find a loss of 8,600. It is possible that the ravages of war might occasion this great loss; for in the course of a campaign the Indians are oftener opposed to enemies of their own description than to the European armies; and their mode of fighting occasions a greater slaughter.

I have no doubt, therefore, that this remarkable decrease of the population of Canada in the course of so short a period may be satisfactorily accounted for, when we consider the war that preceded the conquest, and the very unsettled state of the country for a considerable time after that event. The dissentions between the army and civil power of the British government, and the disgust which the French noblesse, the clergy, and inhabitants felt at being subjected to the will of a foreign people, must have strongly tended to emigration, and contributed, with the losses sustained by the

war, to thin the population of the colony, which was far from being recruited by British settlers, who in six years after the conquest did not amount to more than 500 persons. In no other way (if Mr. Heriot's statement be correct) can we account for the difference between the population of 1758 and the census of 1765.

In 1783 another census was taken by order of the Canadian government: since then, no other has been made, nor have we any data upon which we can rely for forming a correct estimate of the state of the country and its population at the present day. But by a comparison of the census of 1765 and 1783 we may be enabled to judge of the benefits which Canada has received from its new government, and perhaps form some notion of its progress for the last twenty years: for this purpose I shall present them in detail.

CENSUS OF THE PROVINCE OF CANADA.

Date of the Census.	Number of Inhabitants.	Acres of Land in Cultivation.	Bushels of Grain sown yearly.	Horses	Oxen, Cows, and young horned Cattle.	Sheep.	Swine.
1765	76,275	764,604	194,724½	13,757	50,329	27,064	28,976
1783	113,012	1,569,818	383,349½	30,096	98,591	84,666	70,466
Increase in 18 Years.	36,737	805,214	188,625	16,339	48,262	57,602	41,490

These statistical accounts are highly satisfactory; and exhibit, in a clear and convincing man-

ner, the benefits that have resulted to the colony under the excellent constitution of Great Britain. No sooner was a regular form of government established, and the minds of the people tranquillized, than British subjects were induced to emigrate to Canada, and embark their property in agricultural or commercial speculations. These enterprising settlers communicated their spirit, in a certain degree, to the old inhabitants; and hence the surprising increase of population, commerce, and agriculture, which took place in the short period of eighteen years.

Since the year 1783 the colony has been gradually advancing in improvement. Its commerce has at times fluctuated considerably; but population and agriculture have rapidly augmented.

The number of inhabitants in Lower Canada, at the present day, is computed by Mr. Heriot at 250,000; but I think his estimate is much exaggerated; for, if we calculate the population agreeably to the ratio of its increase from 1765 to 1783, during which period of eighteen years it augmented nearly one half, we shall find that in twenty-five years, from 1783 to 1808, the total amount will not exceed 200,000; and this number, I am of opinion, is nearest the truth. Upper Canada is stated by Mr. H. to have 80,000 inhabitants: this may possibly be correct; but from

every inquiry that I made on the subject, I never could learn that it contained more than 60,000. But the truth may, perhaps, be found in the medium between the two, as is often the case when statements are made from vague report.

The prosperity of a country cannot be better exemplified than by a regular and continued increase of its population and resources. That this is the case with respect to Canada, has been already shown by the statements which I have laid before my readers. There is every reason also to suppose, that no diminution whatever has taken place in any part of those details; but that the augmentation which occurred between 1765 and 1783 has continued with little variation, in the same regular manner, for the last thirty years, and even greatly increased in 1810 and 1811. Upon this hypothesis I shall offer the following statistical statement for the year 1808. In the absence of official documents, it may afford some idea of the resources of Lower Canada at the present day.

1808.

Population.	Effective Militia.	Acres of Land in Cultivation.	Bushels of Grain sown yearly.	Horses.	Oxen, Cows, and young horned Cattle.	Sheep.	Swine.
200,000	60,000	3,760,000	920,000	79,000	236,000	286,000	212,000

Of the inhabitants of Lower Canada not more than one-tenth are British, or American settlers

from the United States. In Upper Canada the population is almost entirely composed of the latter, and of British subjects who have emigrated from various parts of the United Kingdom. Very few French people reside in that province; and it is a remarkable circumstance, that among all the British residents in the two colonies, not two hundred *Englishmen*, perhaps, can be found. I was told that at Quebec there were not more than twelve or fourteen of that country. The rest are either Irish or Scotch; though the former bear no proportion to the latter, who are distributed from one end of the Canadas to the other. The Irish emigrate more to the United States than to Canada, and no less than 30,000 are said to have emigrated thither in 1801. Being discontented with their own government, they endeavour to seek relief under a foreign one whose virtues have been so greatly exaggerated, and whose excellent properties have been extolled to the skies. A few months, however, convince them of their error, and those who are not *sold* to their American masters generally find their way into Upper Canada.

Of all British emigrants, the Scotch are the most indefatigable and persevering. In poverty they leave their native home, yet seldom return to it without a handsome competency. Their patient diligence and submission in the pursuit of

riches, together with their general knowledge and good sense, render them highly beneficial to the mother country; while their natural partiality for their ancient soil secures their steady attachment and adherence to the British government.

The French settlers form a distinct class from the British, and present as great a contrast in their characters and manners, as exists between their brethren in Europe. The majority of the French who emigrated to Canada are said to have come originally from Normandy. The colony was peopled very slowly for many years, in consequence of the few advantages which it held forth to men in that age, whose heated imaginations could be satisfied only by mines of gold or mountains of jasper. Canada presented but few attractions to the stranger. Its dreary and uncomfortable wilds, its bleak and lofty mountains covered one half the year with snow, repulsed rather than invited those who visited it. But when the value of the fur trade and fisheries came to be known, and properly estimated, a sufficient scope was opened for the activity and enterprise of restless spirits. Individuals arrived and established themselves. Families and communities, detachments of troops, regiments, and armies, followed each other in succession, and in the course of half a century erected this bleak portion of the new hemisphere into a valuable and extensive colony.

Those who settled in Acadia, now called Nova Scotia, formed a sort of independent community uncontrolled by the mother country. They possessed the interior, while the English occupied the sea-coast. In the course of time these people intermingled with each other, and their offspring possessed a mixed character, which at this day strongly marks those who are now settled in Canada and Louisiana, and distinguishes them from the French inhabitants of those colonies. They however partake more of the French than the British peculiarities. The Acadians of Louisiana are said to be rude and sluggish, without ambition, living miserably on their sorry plantations, where they cultivate Indian corn, raise pigs, and get children. Around their houses one sees nothing but hogs, and before their doors great rustic boys and big strapping girls, stiff as bars of iron, gaping, for want of thought or something to do, at the stranger who is passing.

Their brethren of Canada differ very little from them. They are equally sluggish and inactive; but as they live in a better regulated country, where slavery is not allowed, they are obliged to exert themselves in a greater degree than the Louisianian Acadians, and instead of the sorry plantations of the latter they possess very respectable farms.

The French Canadians are an inoffensive quiet

people, possessed of little industry and less ambition. Yet from the love of gain, mere vanity, or that restlessness which indolence frequently occasions, they will undergo the greatest hardships. There cannot be a stronger proof of this than in those who labour in the spring to collect the sap of the maple tree: their exertions for five or six weeks while the snow is on the ground are excessive. None also undergo severer trials than those who are employed in the fur trade. They penetrate the immense forests of the north-west for thousands of miles, exposed to all the severities of the climate, and often to famine and disease.

The Habitans content themselves with following the footsteps of their forefathers. They are satisfied with a little, because a little satisfies their wants. They are quiet and obedient subjects, because they feel the value and benefit of the government under which they live. They trouble themselves not with useless arguments concerning its good or bad qualities, because they feel themselves protected, and not oppressed, by its laws. They are religious from education and habit more than from principle. They observe its ceremonies and formalities, not because they are necessary to their salvation, but because it gratifies their vanity and superstition. They live in happy mediocrity, without a wish or endeavour to better their condition, though many of them are amply possessed

of the means. Yet they love money, and are seldom on the wrong side of a bargain. From poverty and oppression they have been raised, since the conquest, to independent affluence. They now know and feel the value of money and freedom, and are not willing to part with either. Their parsimonious frugality is visible in their habitations, their dress, and their meals; and had they been as industrious and enterprising as they have been frugal and saving, they would have been the richest peasantry in the world.

Their houses are composed of logs slightly smoothed with the axe, laid upon each other, and dove-tailed at the corners. Sometimes a frame-work is first constructed, and the logs laid upon each other between two grooves. The interstices are filled with clay or mud, and the sides of the building washed outside and in with lime dissolved in water. This, they say, has the property of preserving the wood better than paint from the effects of the weather and vermin; at all events it has the property of being *cheaper*, which is a consideration of more importance to them than weather or vermin.

The roof is constructed with boards, and generally covered with shingles. Sometimes they are white-washed, but oftener allowed to remain in their natural state. In a few months the weather changes the colour of the wood, and gives the

shingles the appearance of slate, which, with the white sides, have a pleasing effect. The whole, however, falls very short of the neat wooden farm-houses in the United States, which are generally clapboarded over the rough logs, and neatly painted. They present a more complete and finished appearance than the rough outsides of the Canadian farm-houses.

The Canadian habitations consist of only one story or ground floor, which is generally divided into four rooms. Over them is a garret, or loft, formed by the sloping roof. Some of the small houses have only one or two apartments, according to the affluence or poverty of their owners. The better sort of farmers have always four rooms. Their houses, however, never exceed what Dr. Johnson distinguishes by the name of huts. "By a *house* (says that learned character) I mean a building with one story over another; by a *hut*, a dwelling with only one floor." According to this distinction, a *house* is very rarely to be met with in Canada, except in the towns.

The chimney is built in the centre of the house; and the room which contains the fire-place is the kitchen. The rest are bed-rooms; for it matters not how many apartments a house consists of, they are seldom without one or two beds in each, according to the size of the family. This indispensable piece of furniture, which is always

placed in one corner of the room, is a sort of four-post bedstead without the pillars, and raised three or four feet from the ground. At the head there is generally a canopy or tester fixed against the wall, under which the bed stands. Upon the bedstead is placed a feather or straw bed, with the usual clothes, and covered with a patchwork counterpane, or green stuff quilt. In winter, the men frequently lay themselves along the hearth, or by the stove, wrapped up in a buffalo robe. In the middle of the night they will get up, stir the fire, smoke their pipe, and lie down again till morning.

The French women have adopted more cleanly maxims since the English have settled in the country. Formerly, it is said, they would suffer their rooms to remain for a twelvemonth before they were swept, or scoured; and to prevent the dust or dirt from rising, they sprinkled their apartments with water several times a day. That constant scouring of rooms and remarkable cleanliness, which are the peculiar character of the English, the Canadian women affirmed to be injurious to health, and therefore they neglected the greatest comfort of life. But in all nations there is a great diversity of dispositions and manners; and though, from the combination of certain traits and peculiarities in the people, a country may appropriate to itself a national character, yet individuals of that nation often exhibit a direct contrast to it.

General rules are not without partial exceptions; and there are French women in Canada as remarkable for cleanliness as there are others remarkable for the opposite extreme.

The furniture of the Habitans is plain and simple, and most commonly of their own workmanship. A few wooden chairs with twig or rush bottoms, and two or three deal tables, are placed in each room, and are seldom very ornamental; they however suffice, with a proper number of wooden bowls, trenchers, and spoons, for the use of the family at meals. A press, and two or three large chests, contain their wearing-apparel and other property. A buffet in one corner contains their small display of cups, saucers, glasses, and tea-pots, while a few broken sets may perhaps grace the mantle-piece. A large clock is often found in their best apartment, and the sides of the room are ornamented with little pictures of the holy virgin and her son, or waxen images of saints and crucifixes. An iron stove is generally placed in the largest apartment, with a pipe passing through the others into the chimney. The kitchen displays very little more than kettles of soup, tureens of milk, a table, a dresser, and a few chairs. The fire-place is wide, and large logs of wood are placed on old-fashioned iron dogs. A wooden crane supports the large kettle of soup, which is for ever on the fire.

Their chief article of food is pork, as fat as they can procure it. They all keep a great number of swine, which they fatten to their liking. Pea-soup, with a small quantity of pork boiled in it, constitutes their breakfast, dinner, and supper, day after day, with very little alteration, except what is occasioned by a few sausages, and puddings made of the entrails when a hog is killed; or during Lent, when fish and vegetables only will suffice. They are extremely fond of thick sour milk, and will often treat themselves with a dish of it after their pork. Milk, soup, and other spoon-meat, are eaten out of a general dish, each taking a spoonful after the other. Knives and forks are seldom in request.

The old people will sometimes treat themselves with tea or coffee, in which case they generally have to boil their water in the frying-pan; for it rarely happens that they have a tea-kettle in the house.—An anecdote is related of a gentleman who was travelling on the road to Montreal several years ago, when tea was almost unknown to the Habitans, and when accommodation on the road was even worse than it is now.—He carried with him his provisions, and among the rest he had a pound of tea. On his arrival at one of the post-houses in the evening, he told the mistress of the house to make him some tea, and gave her the parcel for that purpose. In the mean time, the woman spread out her plates and dishes,

knives and forks, upon the table, and the gentleman took his meat and loaf out of the basket (for tea, without something more substantial, is poor fare when travelling; and I always found, in such cases, that a beef steak, or a slice of cold meat, was a considerable improvement to the tea-table). After waiting a longer time than the gentleman thought necessary to make a cup of tea, the woman came into the room; but how shall I describe his astonishment, when he beheld the whole pound of tea nicely boiled, and spread out on a dish, with a lump of butter in the middle! The good woman had boiled it all in the *chauderon*, and was placing it on the table as a fine *dish of greens* to accompany the gentleman's cold beef.

Milk and water is the usual drink of the females and younger part of the family. Rum is, however, the cordial balm which relieves the men from all their cares and anxieties. They are passionately fond of this pernicious liquor, and often have a debauch when they go to market with their commodities. I have seen in the Upper Town market-place, at Quebec, a father and his son both drunk. The young one, however, was not so bad but that he was sensible of the impropriety: so he tumbled the old man out of the spirit shop into the street, and endeavoured to force him into the berlin, to carry him home. The old fellow, however, pulled his son down by the hair, and began

to belabour him with his fist, uttering ten thousand *sacres* and *b——rs* upon his undutiful head. The young man could not extricate himself; and being pretty much in that state which is called "crying drunk," he began to weep, calling out at the same time, "*Ah, my father, you do not know me! My God, you do not know me!*" The tears ran down his cheeks, though as much most likely from the blows and tugs of the hair which he received, as from the idea of his father not knowing him. His exclamations, however, caused the old man to weep with him, and the scene became truly ludicrous; for the old fellow would not let go his hold, but continued his curses, his blows, and his tears, until the son was assisted by some other Habitans, who forced the father into the berlin; upon which the young man got in, and drove him home.

Very few of the country people who frequent the markets in the towns return home sober; and in winter time, when there is not room for more than one cariole on the road without plunging the horse four or five feet deep in snow, these people, having lost their usual politeness by intoxication, do not feel inclined to make way for the gentry in carioles, and will often run their sleighs aboard and upset them.

The Canadian country people bake their own bread, which is made of wheat-flour and rye-

meal; but for the want of yeast it has a sour taste, and is coarse and heavy. Their ovens are built of wicker-work, plastered inside and out with a thick coating of clay or mortar. Some are built of bricks or stones, but the former are more general. They are situate at a short distance from the house, to prevent accidents from fire, and are raised about four feet from the ground, covered with a roof of boards, supported by four posts, to keep off the rain.

The dress of the Habitant is simple and homely; it consists of a long-skirted cloth coat or frock, of a dark gray colour, with a hood attached to it, which in winter time or wet weather he puts over his head. His coat is tied round the waist by a worsted sash of various colours ornamented with beads. His waistcoat and trowsers are of the same cloth. A pair of moccasins, or swamp-boots, complete the lower part of his dress. His hair is tied in a thick long queue behind, with an eelskin; and on each side of his face a few straight locks hang down like what are vulgarly called "rat's tails." Upon his head is a *bonnet rouge*, or, in other words, a red nightcap. The *tout ensemble* of his figure is completed by a short pipe, which he has in his mouth from morning till night. A Dutchman is not a greater smoker than a French Canadian.

The visage of the Habitant is long and thin,

Lambert del.

French Habitans or Countrymen.

his complexion sunburnt and swarthy, and not unfrequently of a darker hue than that of the Indian. His eyes, though rather small, are dark and lively; his nose prominent, and inclined to the aquiline or Roman form; his cheeks lank and meagre; his lips small and thin; his chin sharp and projecting.

Such is the almost invariable portrait of a Canadian Habitant, or countryman, and more or less of the lower order of French people in the towns. It is, in fact, a portrait of five-sixths of the male inhabitants of Lower Canada. It is very seldom that any alteration takes place in the dress of the men; unless in summer the long coat is exchanged for a jacket, and the *bonnet rouge* for a straw hat; but it oftener happens that the dress which I have described is worn the whole year round.

The dress of the women is old-fashioned; for the articles which compose it never find their way into Canada until they have become stale in England. I am now speaking of those who deck themselves out in printed cotton gowns, muslin aprons, shawls, and handkerchiefs; but there are numbers who wear only cloth of their own manufacture, the same as worn by the men. A petticoat and short jacket is the most prevailing dress; though some frequently decorate themselves in all the trappings of modern finery,

but which, in point of fashion, are generally a few years behind those of Europe. The elderly women still adhere to long waists, full caps, and large clubs of hair behind. Some of the younger branches of the countrywomen are becoming more modern, having imbibed a spirit for dress from the French girls who live in the towns as servants.

The Habitans have almost every resource within their own families. They cultivate flax, which they manufacture into linen; and their sheep supply them with the wool of which their garments are formed. They tan the hides of their cattle, and make them into moccasins and boots. From woollen yarn they knit their own stockings and *bonnets rouges;* and from straw they make their summer hats and bonnets. Besides articles of wearing apparel, they make their own bread, butter, and cheese; their soap, candles, and sugar; all which are supplied from the productions of their farm. They build their own houses, barns, stables, and ovens; make their own carts, wheels, ploughs, harrows, and canoes. In short, their ingenuity, prompted as much by parsimony as the isolated situation in which they live, has provided them with every article of utility and every necessary of life. A Canadian will seldom or never purchase that which he can make himself; and I am of opinion that it is this saving

Lambert del.

Habitants in their Summer dress

spirit of frugality alone, which has induced them to follow the footsteps of their fathers, and which has prevented them from profiting by the modern improvements in husbandry, and the new implements of agriculture introduced by the English settlers.

CHAPTER X.

Handsome Children—Pernicious Effects of the Stove—Manners of the Habitans—Modesty—Genius—General Deficiency of Education—Necessity for diffusing a Knowledge of the English Language more generally throughout the Province — Marriages — Calashes — Berlins — Carioles—Covered Carioles—Laws of the Road—Civility of the Habitans—Partiality to Dancing and Feasting on certain Days—Vanity of a young Fellow in painting his Cheeks—Superstition of an Old Lady—Anecdote of the Holy Water—Corrupt French spoken in Canada—Observations upon the Habitans.

The children of the Habitans are generally pretty, when young; but from sitting over the stoves in winter, and labouring in the fields in summer, their complexion becomes swarthy, and their features ordinary and coarse. The boys adopt the pernicious habit of smoking, almost as soon as they have strength to hold a pipe in their mouth: this must insensibly injure the constitution, though from the mildness of their tobacco

its effects must be less deleterious than that of the United States, or the British West Indies. The girls, from manual labour, become strong, bony, and masculine, and after thirty years of age have every appearance of early decrepitude; yet their constitutions frequently remain robust and healthy, and some few live to a considerable age.

When I have entered a Canadian house in the winter, I always felt a violent oppression on my lungs, occasioned by the insufferable heat from the stove; while the inhabitants would perhaps be huddled round it, replenishing the fire in order to make their *chauderon* or saucepan of soup boil, which stood on the top of the stove. It may therefore be easily conceived what a degree of heat it is necessary to create in these furnaces, for the purpose of penetrating through the iron plate at top, and the bottom of the saucepan which is placed upon it. In fact, I have seen them red hot, and two or three gallons of soup in full boil. The men will also frequently stand over a stove till they are in a violent perspiration, and then go into the open air on the coldest days, even sometimes with their breast uncovered. Extremes like these must hurt the constitution; and though some live to enjoy old age, yet their numbers cannot be compared with those who are cut off in the prime of life. The climate is fa-

vourable to longevity, and it is the fault of the people if they do not live beyond the age of fifty.

The women are prolific, and fat chubby children may be seen at every Habitant's door. I have never heard, however, that the St. Lawrence possesses such properties as are ascribed to the waters of the Mississippi, which are said to facilitate procreation in the Louisianian females. It is even said that women, who in other parts of the world could never breed, have become pregnant in a year after their arrival in Louisiana.

The manners of the Habitans are easy and polite. Their behaviour to strangers is never influenced by the cut of a coat, or a fine periwig. It is civil and respectful to all, without distinction of persons. They treat their superiors with that polite deference which neither debases the one nor exalts the other. They are never rude to their inferiors because they are poor, for if they do not relieve poverty they will not insult it. Their carriage and deportment are easy and unrestrained; and they have the air of men who have lived all their days in a town rather than in the country.

They live on good terms with each other; parents and children to the third generation residing frequently in one house. The farm is divided as long as there is an acre to divide; and their de-

sire of living together is a proof that they live happy, otherwise they would be anxious to part.

They are universally modest in their behaviour; the women from natural causes, the men from custom. The latter never bathe in the river without their trowsers, or a handkerchief tied round their middle.

They marry young, and are seldom without a numerous family. Hence their passions are kept within proper bounds, and seldom become liable to those excesses which too often stigmatize and degrade the human character.

The men are possessed of strong natural genius, and good common sense; both of which are however but seldom improved by education, owing to the paucity of schools in Canada. The women are better instructed, or at least better informed, for they are more attended to by the priests. Hence they generally acquire an influence over their husbands, which those who are gay and coquetish know how to turn to their own advantage.

The general deficiency of education and learning among the great body of the people in Canada has long been a subject of newspaper-complaint in that country. But it is extremely doubtful whether the condition of the people would be meliorated, or the country benefited, by the distribution of learning and information

among them. The means of obtaining instruction, at present, are undoubtedly very limited; but it is occasioned, in a great measure, by their own parsimonious frugality; for, if they were willing to spare a sufficient sum for the education of their children, plenty of masters would be found, and plenty of schools opened. The British or American settlers in the back townships teach their own children the common rudiments of education; but the Canadians are themselves uneducated, and ignorant even of the smallest degree of learning; therefore they have it not in their power to supply the want of a school in their own family, and thus do they propagate from age to age the ignorance of their ancestors:

> "For, as refinement stops, from sire to son,
> Unalter'd, unimproved, their manners run."

With respect to their obtaining a knowledge of the English language, I agree with those who are of opinion that so desirable an object might, to a certain extent, be attained by the interference of the government, and the establishing of parochial Sunday schools. The number who understand, or speak, English in Lower Canada does not amount to one-fifth of the whole population, including the British subjects. Few of the French clergy understand it; for in the seminary at Quebec, where it ought to form an indispensable part of the student's education, it is totally

neglected; in consequence of which, a great many French children who are educated there, besides those that are designed for the church, lose a favourable opportunity of becoming acquainted with it; and that which is omitted in youth is neither easily nor willingly acquired in manhood. It is possible that the French clergy may look with jealousy upon the diffusion of the English language among their parishioners; they may think that, as the intercourse between the British and French Canadians will be facilitated by such a measure, the eyes of the latter would be opened to many of the inconsistencies and defects of their religion; and that, in consequence, they may be induced to change their faith, and throw off the dominion of their priests. These, however, are but groundless fears; for as long as vanity retains its hold in the breasts of the Canadians, and while the clergy continue that indefatigable perseverance in their ministry, and that unblemished character and reputation, which distinguish them at present, it is not probable that their parishioners will depart from the religion of their forefathers. The instruction of the French children in the English language is therefore neither difficult nor liable to any serious objection. That it is a desirable object, and highly necessary for political as well as private reasons, is without doubt: that it is necessary for the dispatch of

business, and for the impartial administration of justice, every man who has been in a Canadian court of law must acknowledge without hesitation.

The marriages of the Canadians are remarkable for the numbers of friends, relations, and acquaintance, who attend the young couple to the altar. They are all dressed in their Sunday attire, and ride to church in calashes or carioles, according to the season of the year in which it takes place. I have sometimes counted upwards of thirty of these vehicles, each containing three or four people, one of whom drives. Those who live in the towns, and are married in the morning, often parade the streets with their friends in the afternoon.

The carriages made use of in Canada are calashes for the summer, and carioles and berlins for the winter. The calash is in general use all over the country, and is used alike by the gentry and Habitans; only that those belonging to the former are of a superior description. The calash is a sort of one-horse chaise capable of holding two persons besides the driver, who sits in front upon a low seat, with his feet resting upon the shafts. This carriage has no spring, but it is suspended by two broad leather straps, upon which the body is fixed. These straps are secured behind by two iron rollers, by which they are tightened when too loose. The body of

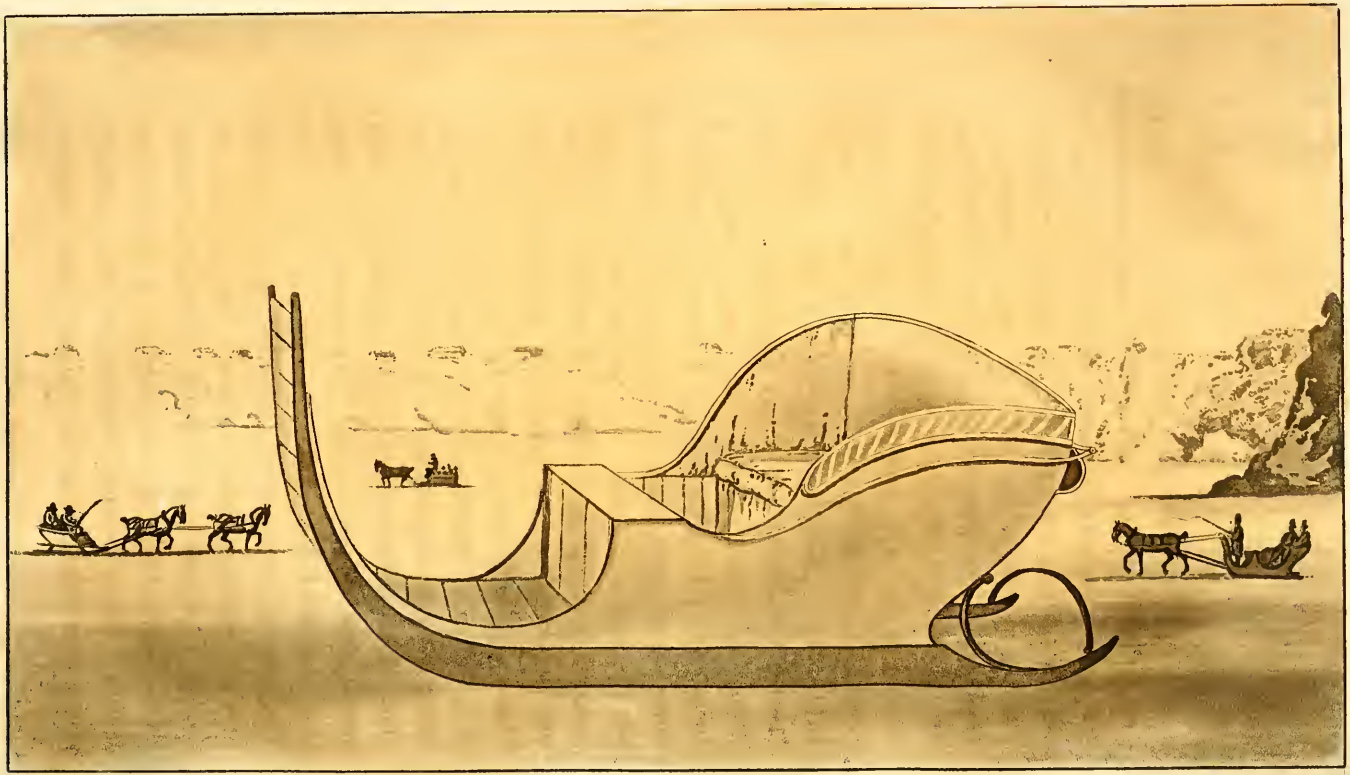
the calash has a wing on each side, to prevent the mud from being thrown in by the wheels. Those of the better sort are handsomely varnished and fitted up with linings and cushions similar to an English chaise; the inferior sort used by the country people are roughly built and miserably painted; but as they are often the workmanship of the Habitant himself, much elegance cannot be expected; he has, indeed, considerable merit in accomplishing so much without the aid of proper instruction.

The harness is sometimes very heavy, and studded with a great number of brass nails, but that is now nearly exploded, and has given place to a much lighter and simpler caparison. It is used as well for carts as for the calash, and is several pounds lighter than the cumbersome English collar and harness. Plated harness is used for the best calashes, though made in the same simple form, and requires merely a ring and a bolt, which fastened to each shaft secures the horse in the cart or calash, the sleigh or the cariole. This kind of harness, being in general use all over the country, is extremely convenient in case of accident; and as the horses are nearly of a size, there is little difficulty in borrowing a horse that will fit your carriage, or a carriage that will fit your horse, and harness that will suit both.

The post calashes, which are the very worst of

the kind used in the country, are most abominable machines for a long journey. They are most commonly driven by boys; but if you are unfortunate enough to have a fat, unwieldy driver sitting in front, which is sometimes unavoidable, the body of the calash leans forward, and renders your seat not only extremely irksome, but also difficult to maintain; added to which, your shoulders and hips are jolted against its sides without mercy, and your journey, for that stage at least, becomes completely painful and distressing.

The carioles nearly resemble the body of a one-horse chaise, placed upon two runners, like the irons of a pair of skates. They are painted, varnished, and lined like the better sort of calashes. The driver generally stands up in front, though there is a seat for him similar to that in the calash. Between him and the horse there is a high pannel which reaches up to his breast, and prevents the splashes from being thrown into the cariole. The body of the vehicle is sometimes placed on high runners of iron, though in general the low wooden runners are preferred, as they are not so liable to be upset as the others. Seldom more than one horse is driven in the cariole; but the dashing youths in the army, the government service, or among the merchants, are fond of displaying their scientific management of the whip in the tandem style.



J. Lambert del.

A Canadian Cariole.

The Habitans make use of an old-fashioned sort of cariole, called a *berlin;* it is better adapted for long journeys, as the sides are higher, and keep the traveller warmer than the other description of carioles. Sleighs are used in the winter, as carts are in the summer, for the transportation of goods. They are formed of a couple of low runners, with boards fastened across. The goods are kept from falling off by half-a-dozen sticks, which are fixed at the sides and corners of the sleigh, and fastened together at top by a rope or twisted twigs.

The horses are obliged to have several little bells fastened to their harness in winter, in order to give notice to others of their approach; for the carioles and sleighs proceed with such rapidity, and make so little noise over the snow, that many accidents might occur in turning the corner of a street, or on a dark night, if the alarm was not given by the jingling of the bells.

Covered carioles resemble the body of a post-chaise or chariot placed upon runners; they have doors at the sides and glasses in the front, but are never used, except for the purpose of going to an evening ball or entertainment; for the pleasure of carioling consists principally in seeing and being seen; and therefore the open one, though it exposes the person to the severest weather, is always preferred.

There is hardly a Habitant in Canada who does not keep his horse and cart, calash and berlin. Carters are also numerous in the towns, and calashes or carioles, &c., may be hired of them at a moderate price. They stand in the market-places both winter and summer, looking out for employment. Their horses are generally in good condition, though their labour is hard and their treatment severe.

In Canada, as well as in some parts of the United States, it is a custom among the people to drive on the right side of the road, which to the eye of an Englishman has a very awkward appearance; for in his country

> "The laws of the road are a paradox quite;
> For, when you are trav'lling along,
> If you keep to the *left* you are sure to be *right*,
> If you keep to the *right* you'll be *wrong*."

From what cause the custom originated in America I cannot say; but I have observed that in the winter season the driver frequently jumps out of the cariole on the right side, in order to prevent it from upsetting in places where the road is narrow and the snow uneven: this may possibly have given rise to their driving on the right side of the road, though I think the same thing might be accomplished as easily on the left. That which from necessity had become a habit in the winter, was not easily laid aside in the

summer; and consequently settled into a general custom, which was afterwards fully established by law. Acts of the legislature in the United States, as well as in Canada, now compel people to drive on the right hand side of the road.

The French Canadians are remarkably civil to each other, and bow and scrape as they pass along the streets. When I have seen a couple of carmen, or peasants, cap in hand, with bodies bent to each other, I have often pictured to my imagination the curious effect which such a scene would have in the streets of London between two of our coal-porters or dray-men. Sometimes I have seen the men kiss each other on the cheek; but the practice is not in general use. They are extremely civil and polite to strangers, and take off their cap to every person, indifferently, whom they pass on the road. They seldom quarrel but when intoxicated; at other times they are good-humoured, peaceable, and friendly.

They are fond of dancing and entertainments at particular seasons and festivals, on which occasions they eat, drink, and dance in constant succession. When their long fast in Lent is concluded, they have their "jours gras," or days of feasting. Then it is that every production of their farm is presented for the gratification of their appetites; immense turkey-pies; huge joints

of pork, beef, and mutton; spacious tureens of soup, or thick milk; besides fish, fowl, and a plentiful supply of fruit-pies, decorate the board. Perhaps fifty or a hundred sit down to dinner; rum is drunk by the half-pint, often without water; the tables groan with their load, and the room resounds with jollity and merriment. No sooner however does the clash of the knives and forks cease, than the violin strikes up and the dances commence. Minuets, and a sort of reels or jigs, rudely performed to the discordant scrapings of a couple of vile fidlers, conclude the festival, or "jour gras."

On Sundays and festivals every one is drest in his best suit, and the females will occasionally powder their hair and paint their cheeks. In this respect they differ but little from their superiors, except that they use *beet-root* instead of rouge. Even the men are sometimes vain enough to beautify their cheeks with that vegetable. A young fellow who had enlivened his swarthy complexion by a fine glow from the beet-root, most probably to captivate the heart of some fair nymph on a "jour gras," was unfortunately so jeered and laughed at by several of his companions, that the next day he went to his priest, to inquire if it was a sin to paint his face; thinking, no doubt, to obtain the sanction of his con-

fessor. The priest however told him that though it was no sin, yet it was a very ridiculous vanity, and advised him to discontinue it.

Superstition is the offspring of the Roman catholic religion, and the Canadians are consequently not exempt from its influence. The women, particularly, have a much larger share of it than the men, who trouble themselves less than their wives with its peculiarities. Their ladies, in great emergencies, put more faith in holy water, candles, saints, and crucifixes, than confidence in the Saviour himself. A friend of mine was once present at the house of a French lady, when a violent thunder-storm commenced. The shutters were immediately closed, and the room darkened. The lady of the house, not willing to leave the safety of herself and company to chance, began to search her closets for the bottle of holy water, which, by a sudden flash of lightning, she fortunately found. The bottle was uncorked, and its contents immediately sprinkled over the ladies and gentlemen. It was a most dreadful storm, and lasted a considerable time; she therefore redoubled her sprinklings and benedictions at every clap of thunder, or flash of lightning. At length the storm abated, and the party were providentially saved from its effects; which the good lady attributed solely to the precious water. But when the shutters were opened,

and the light admitted, the company found, to the destruction of their white gowns and muslin handkerchiefs, their coats, waistcoats, and breeches, that instead of holy water the pious lady had sprinkled them with *ink*.

The Habitans are said to have as little rusticity in their language as in their deportment. The colony was originally peopled by so many of the noblesse, disbanded officers and soldiers, and persons of good condition, that correct language and easy and unembarrassed manners were more likely to prevail among the Canadian peasantry than among the common rustics of other countries. Previous to the conquest of the country by the English, the inhabitants are said to have spoken as pure and correct French as in old France: since then they have adopted many anglicisms in their language, and have also several antiquated phrases, which may probably have arisen out of their intercourse with the new settlers. For *froid* (cold) they pronounce *fréte*. For *ici* (here) they pronounce *icíte*. For *prét* (ready) they pronounce *parré;* besides several other obsolete words which I do not at present recollect. Another corrupt practice is very common among them, of pronouncing the *final* letter of their words, which is contrary to the custom of the European French. This perhaps may also have been acquired in the course of fifty years communication with the

British settlers; if not, they never merited the praise of speaking pure French.

Upon a review of the preceding sketch of the character and manners of the Habitans, who constitute the great body of the Canadian people, it will be found that few peasantry in the world are blest with such a happy mediocrity of property, and such a mild form of government as they universally enjoy. They possess every necessary of life in abundance, and, when inclined, may enjoy many of its luxuries. They have no taxes to pay, but such as their religion demands. The revenues of the province are raised, in an indirect manner, upon those articles which are rather pernicious than beneficial to them; and therefore it is their own fault if they feel the weight of the impost. They are contented and happy among themselves, and protected by a well regulated government. The laws are severe, but tempered in their administration with so much lenity and indulgence for human failings, that it has occasioned a singular proverbial saying among the people, that "*it requires great interest for a man to be hung in Canada;*" so few in that country ever meet with such an ignominious fate.

They have now enjoyed an almost uninterrupted peace for half a century, for they were so little disturbed in the American war, that that event can hardly be considered as an interrup-

tion. This has increased the population, agriculture, commerce, and prosperity of the country; and while it has raised the people to all the comforts of moderate possessions, of freedom, and independence, it has strengthened their attachment to the constitution and government under which they have thus prospered.

CHAPTER XI.

Government of Lower Canada—Governors—Executive and Legislative Councils—House of Assembly—Provincial Parliament—Canadian Orators—Oath of a Member—Debates—Ignorant Members—Anecdote of a Legislator—Laws of Lower Canada—Courts of Law—English and French Laws—The Rights of Seigniors—Feudal Tenures—Coutume de Paris—Fiefs—Succession to Estates—Division of Property—Wife's Dower—Community of Property by Marriage—Timely Interference of a Quarter Cask of Madeira, and Piece of Russia Sheeting, in the Purchase of a House—Arrests—Canadian Lawyers—Anecdote of a Governor—Evil Consequences of being at Law—Tedious Laws—Chief Justice Allcock—Attorney-General—Receipts and Expenses of the Government—Forges of St. Maurice—Taxes—Turnpikes.

The form of government in Canada is an epitome of the British constitution. In the upper province it assimilates itself nearer to that of the old country than in Lower Canada, the laws of

which have unavoidably been obliged to admit of some local alterations, in order to adapt them to the majority of the people whom they govern, and who differ in so many respects from those of Upper Canada.

The civil government of the province consists of a governor, who is also a military man, and commander-in-chief of the forces: a lieutenant-governor, an executive and legislative council, and house of assembly. In the absence of the governor and lieutenant-governor, the president of the executive council succeeds to the head of affairs, as was the case when we arrived in Canada; Mr. Dunn being then president of the province, in the absence of General Prescott, the governor, and Sir Robert Milnes, the lieutenant-governor. On such occasions the powers of the president are more circumscribed than those of the governor, and even the executive council is timorous, and reluctant to take any responsibility upon itself. The ill consequences, therefore, of the absence of the governor and lieutenant-governor may be easily perceived in cases of urgency and importance; and its mischievous effects were sufficiently felt by us soon after our arrival. Misapprehension, delay, and irresolution marked the conduct of the government at that period, frustrated the plans of the board of trade for the cultivation of hemp, and involved my

relation in losses and difficulties from which he has not yet recovered.

The Executive Council, like the privy council of England, has the management of the executive part of the government, and is appointed by His Majesty. The Legislative Council, and House of Assembly, form the provincial parliament.

The governor, or person administering the government, represents the sovereign, and opens, prorogues, or dissolves, the assembly; gives or refuses his assent to bills, or reserves them for His Majesty's pleasure. The bills to which he assents are put in force immediately, and true copies transmitted to the British government for the approbation of the king in council.

Certain acts of the provincial parliament which go to repeal or vary the laws that were in existence at the time the present constitution was established, respecting tythes; the appropriation of land for the support of the protestant clergy; the constituting and endowing of parsonages and rectories; the right of presentation to the same; the enjoyment and exercise of any mode of worship; the imposing of any burthens or disqualifications on account of the same; the rights of the clergy to recover their accustomed dues or emoluments to any ecclesiastics; the establishment and discipline of the church of England;

the king's prerogative concerning the granting of waste lands of the crown within the province; are to be laid before the British parliament before they receive the royal assent. The acts of the provincial parliament are merely of a local nature, regulating the interior of the country, and creating a revenue for the maintenance of the government.

The Legislative Council consists of fifteen members, appointed for life by the governor, who is invested with powers for that purpose by His Majesty. No one can be a counsellor who is not twenty-one years of age, and a natural-born subject, or naturalized according to act of parliament.

The House of Assembly consists of fifty members, who are chosen for districts and counties by those who are possessed of freehold property of the clear yearly value of 40 *l.* The members for cities and towns are chosen by voters whose property consists of a dwelling-house and lot of ground of the yearly value of five pounds sterling; or who have resided in the town for twelve months previous to the writ of summons, and shall have paid one year's rent for a dwelling or lodging, at the rate of 10 *l.* sterling per annum.

No person is eligible to a seat in the House of Assembly who belongs to the Legislative Council, or that is a minister of religion, or not a natural-

born subject, or naturalized according to law or conquest: nor any person that has been attainted of treason, or disqualified by any act of the provincial parliament. All religions are tolerated in Canada in the fullest extent; and no disqualification on that account exists for the purpose of preventing any person from a seat in the provincial parliament. Catholics, Jews, and Protestants have all an equal right to sit, provided they are not disqualified from any other cause. The assembly is not to last longer than four years, but may be dissolved sooner; and the governor is bound to call it at least once in each year.

The oath of a member taking his seat is comprised in a few words. He promises to bear true allegiance to the king, as lawful sovereign of Great Britain, and the province of Canada dependent upon it; to defend him against all traitorous conspiracies and attempts against his person, and to make known to him all such conspiracies and attempts which he may at any time be acquainted with: all which he promises without mental evasion, reservation, or equivocation, at the same time renouncing all pardons and dispensations from any person or power whatsoever.

The provincial parliament is held in the old building called the Bishop's Palace, situate between the Grand Battery and Prescot Gate, at the top of Mountain Street. The assembly remains

sitting for about three months in the winter, and out of fifty members seldom more than twenty attend: one or other contrive to elude their duty by pleas of illness or unavoidable business. The French have a large majority in the House of Assembly, their number being thirty-six to fourteen British. The speeches are therefore mostly in French; for the English members all understand and speak that language, while very few of the French members have any knowledge of English.

The debates are seldom interesting, and never remarkable for learning, eloquence, or profound argument. The orators of Canada never confuse their brains with logical reasoning, or learned disputations. They never delight their hearers with beauty of expression, masterly conceptions, or Ciceronian eloquence. Yet some few of the English members are tolerable speakers, and possess very respectable abilities. Nothing however of very great importance, or that requires much ability to discuss, ever presents itself for debate. The regulation of the post-houses, the construction of bridges, jails, court-houses, &c., and the levying of duties for the support of the revenue, are nearly all that ever come under their consideration. The establishing of banks in the province has lately attracted their attention, and has been brought forward by Mr. Richardson in

a very able manner: but there are several in the house who are perfectly ignorant both of figures and letters: how these gentlemen will be able to judge of the utility or inutility of banks remains to be seen.

In England, we look upon a member of parliament as a man of superior ability; at least we respect and venerate him for the high and dignified situation which he fills: but in Canada, a member of the provincial parliament acquires no respect, no additional honour with his situation, because neither learning nor ability is requisite to qualify him for a seat in that assembly. If every member, when the oath is administered, was also obliged to write a few lines, and read a page or two in the journals of the house, the assembly would become honoured and respected; its members would be exalted in the opinion of its constituents; and several French gentlemen, who now sit there, would be sent back to their farms, where they might employ themselves more usefully in feeding pigs than in legislation. It was wittily enough proposed in the Quebec Mercury in May last, just after the election, to open a seminary, or college, for the instruction of those members who were *deficient* in the necessary qualifications of reading, writing, and arithmetic.

A friend of mine told me that he once asked a

French member of the provincial parliament for an order: I forget upon what occasion he wanted it, but the member replied that he could not write: "Oh," says my friend, "I will write it out, and you can make your *cross*."—"Ah, mon Dieu!" says the legislator, "that will not do."

Previous to the year 1774 the country was governed by the ordinances of the governor alone: but the Quebec bill of that year extended Canada to its ancient limits; and its original system of civil law, the "Coutume de Paris," was restored. A new form of government was introduced, and the Roman catholic clergy, except the monks and Jesuits, were secured in the legal enjoyment of their estates, and of their tythes from all who were of the Romish religion. No person professing the protestant religion was to be subject to the payment of tythes, their clergy being supported by the government. The French laws were introduced in civil cases, and the English law, and trial by jury, in criminal cases.

In 1791 another bill was passed, which repealed the Quebec bill of 1774, and divided Canada into two separate provinces, the one called Lower, and the other Upper Canada. By this bill the present form of government was established; and the Canadians now enjoy all the advantages of the British constitution. In 1794 an act was passed for dividing the province of Lower Canada into

three districts, and for augmenting the number of judges. The laws are now administered by two chief justices, and six puisne judges, who are divided equally between Quebec and Montreal. The chief justice of Quebec has, however, the largest salary, and the title of chief justice of the province. There is also a provincial judge for the district of Three Rivers, who resides there, and is assisted at the two superior terms by the chief justice of Quebec and one of the puisne judges. The chief presides there only in criminal causes. There is also a judge of the court of Vice-admiralty, who resides at Quebec; and a provincial judge for the inferior district of Gaspé, who resides on that government. Besides the judges, there are an attorney-general resident at Quebec, and a solicitor-general resident at Montreal.

Exclusive of the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, there is a Court of Appeal, which sits the first Monday in every month, as long as business requires. This court is composed of the governor, or person administering the government, and five or more members of the executive council, with those judges who have not previously heard or decided upon the causes which are appealed. A further appeal may be made to His Majesty in council.

The courts of Quarter Sessions of the peace are held four times a year. The police of Quebec,

Montreal, and Three Rivers, is in the hands of the justices of the peace: they also regulate the price of bread every month, and meet once a week to determine petty causes and offences under ten pounds. Counsellors attend, and argue for their clients, who are put to great expense for summonses, fees, &c. The whole of the business has devolved into the hands of the three magistrates who erected the edifice for the butchers in the Upper Town market-place; and though there are upwards of thirty justices of the peace in Quebec, yet few except the triumvirate ever act as such. I should have had no other opportunity of judging of these gentlemen, but by their abilities as surveyors, had not our men frequently obliged us to attend their weekly sittings, where we very soon discovered that they decide causes with as much judgment as they design buildings.

The laws of Lower Canada are, I. The "Coutume de Paris," or Custom of Paris, as it existed in France in the year 1666, in which year the custom was reformed. II. The civil or Roman law in cases where the custom of Paris is silent. III. The edicts, declarations, and ordinances of the French governors of Canada. IV. The acts of the British parliament made concerning Canada. V. The English criminal law in toto, and the acts of the provincial parliament.

This complication of French and English laws is rendered necessary by the two different communities which exist in Canada, and may be divided into four distinct parts, viz. The criminal, civil, commercial, and maritime laws.

The *criminal* law is wholly English, and in its administration all are universally subject to its operations without distinction of persons.

The *civil* law, or compound of laws regarding property, is taken from the "Coutume de Paris," from the civil law of the Romans, or from such edicts, declarations, and ordinances concerning property, as have been made at any time by the French governors of Canada. To this civil jurisprudence both the British and French Canadians, in certain cases, are subject. These laws embrace a variety of subjects, particularly the feudal tenures, seigniories, fiefs, and estates, held nobly or by villainage; moveable or immoveable property, marriage dowers, and community of property between man and wife.

The *commercial* laws relate to mercantile transactions, and are regulated nearly in the same manner as in England; except that in such cases there are no trials by jury, which are confined only to the criminal law.

The maritime law, or Court of Vice-admiralty, is wholly English. Law proceedings are carried on both in English and French.

At the first settling of the colony a great error was committed, in granting to officers of the army, and gentlemen-adventurers, extensive lots of land called seigniories, many of them from one to five hundred square miles in size, which were situated on the borders of the river St. Lawrence, from Kamouraska to several leagues beyond Montreal, comprehending a distance of more than three hundred miles. These great proprietors, who were generally men of moderate or small fortunes, and unskilled in agriculture, were unable to manage such vast estates: they were, therefore, under the necessity of making over their lands to soldiers or planters, on condition that they should receive a quit rent and certain services for ever. This was introducing into America a species of tenure similar to that of the feudal government, which had so long been fatal to Europe. The superior ceded a portion of land to each of his vassals, of about three acres in breadth, and from 70 to 80 in depth, commencing from the banks of the river, and running back into the woods; thus forming that immense chain of settlements which now exists along the shores of St. Lawrence. The vassal, on his part, engaged to work at certain periods in the seignior's mill, to pay him annually one or two sols per acre, and a bushel and half of corn, for the whole grant. This tax, though but a small one, maintained a considerable number

of idle people, at the expense of the only class with which the colony ought to have been peopled; and the truly useful inhabitants, those engaged in laborious employments, found the burden of maintaining a lazy noblesse increased by the additional exactions of the clergy. The tythes were imposed in 1667; and though this grievous tax upon industry was reduced to a twenty-fifth part of the produce of the soil, yet even that was an oppression in an infant colony, and a grievance in a country where the clergy had property allotted them sufficient for their maintenance.

There are two kinds of tenure in Lower Canada, viz. the feudal tenure, and the tenure in free and common soccage. By the first all the French Canadians hold their lands, under certain distinctions. By free and common soccage are held those lands which the British settlers have received from the crown, few of them holding lands under the feudal tenure.

In order to give some idea of the feudal tenure in this country, it will be necessary to give a sketch of the principal chapters of the "Custom of Paris." The first and most difficult chapter treats of fiefs, the origin of which is uncertain.

Before we come to the definition of the nature and the different kinds of fiefs, it must be observed that estates are divided into two kinds in the Cus-

tom of Paris: *First*, Those held nobly; and, *secondly*, Those held by villainage.

The estates held nobly are the fiefs and *Franc aleu noble*; and the estates held by villainage are those held subject to *cens* or *censive*, and *Franc aleu villain*

Fief is an estate held and possessed on condition of fealty and homage, and certain rights, payable generally by the new possessor to the lord of whom the fief is held: these rights are *quint* and *relief*. The *quint* is the fifth part of the purchase-money, and must be paid by the purchaser: this is somewhat similar to the fine of alienation, which, by the ancient English tenure, was paid to the lord upon every mutation of the tenant's property. In England it was only strictly exacted by the king's tenants *in capite*, common persons being exempted by stat. 18 Edward I. *Relief* is the revenue of one year due to the lord for certain mutations, as if a fief comes to a vassal by succession in the direct line, there is nothing due to the seignior but fealty and homage; but if in the collateral line, then a fine or composition is paid to the lord upon taking up the estate, which has lapsed or fallen by the death of the last tenant.

The feudal lord, within 40 days after the purchase of a fief has been made known to him, can take it to himself by paying to the purchaser the price which he gave for it, with all lawful charges.

This privilege, enjoyed by the feudal lord, (and in Canada by the king,) is for the purpose of preventing frauds in the disposal of fiefs; for it has sometimes happened that, by an understanding between the buyer and seller, the quint or fifth has been paid upon only one-half, or even a quarter, of the purchase money, instead of the whole. By the right, therefore, which the lord possesses of purchasing the property himself, whenever the nominal sum is not equal to the value of the fief, he immediately ascertains the actual amount of the purchase money, and either receives the whole of the fifth share, or takes the property into his own hands, at a price considerably below its real value. If the fine is paid immediately, only one-third of the *quint* can be demanded.

The succession to fiefs is different from that of property held *en roture* or by *villainage*. The eldest son takes by *right* the chateau or principal manor-house, and the yard adjoining to it; also an acre of the garden joining to the manor-house. If there are any mills, ovens, or presses, within the seigniory, they belong to the eldest son; but the profits arising from the mills (whether common or not) and from the ovens and press, if common, must be equally divided among the heirs.

When there are only two heirs coming to the succession, the eldest son takes, besides the manor-

house, &c., two-thirds of the fief; and the youngest son takes the other third: but when there are more than two heirs, the elder son takes the one half, and the other heirs take the remaining half. When there are only daughters coming to the succession, the fief is equally divided among them, the eldest daughter having no birth-right. In successions to fiefs, in the collateral line, females do not succeed with males in the same degree. If the eldest son dies, the next does not succeed to his birth-right; but the estate must be equally divided among the heirs.

Franc aleu is a freehold estate, held subject to no seigniorial rights or duties, acknowledging no lord but the king.

Censive is an estate held in the feudal manner, charged with a certain annual rent, which is paid by the possessor of it. It consists of money, fowls, or grain. It is thus that most of the Habitans hold their farms. The *lods et ventes*, or fines of alienation, are one twelfth part of the purchase-money, and are paid by the purchaser on all mutations of property *en roture* (or soccage) to the seignior, in the same manner as the *quint* is paid upon mutations of fiefs. The seignior has also the same right of purchasing the property within forty days, in case he suspects that there is any collusion between the parties to defraud him of his dues.

The succession to estates held *en roture* is re-

gulated differently from the successions to fiefs, that is to say, the heirs all succeed equally to estates *en roture*. The seignior, whenever he finds it necessary, may cut down timber for the purpose of building mills and making roads which are considered of general benefit to his tenants. He is also allowed one tenth of all the fish caught on his property, besides an exclusive right to the profits of his grist mills, to which all his vassals are obliged to carry their corn, and pay a certain portion for the grinding it. Some of the rents paid by the Habitans to their seigniors amount to ten or fifteen shillings per annum; others pay no more than a sol, a capon, or a bushel of wheat. But from the *lods et ventes* upon the sale of farms the seigniors often derive from fifty pounds to two or three hundred per annum; even the barren seigniory of Grondines brought the seignior, in one year, upwards of eighty pounds. Farms on good land will sell according to their size, from one to five hundred pounds. The Canadian government paid upwards of 500*l.* for the farm which they purchased for my uncle, though it only consisted of sixty acres clear, and twenty acres wood land. It is situated on the seigniory of Beçancour in the district of Three Rivers. Mr. Hart, the seignior, received between forty and fifty pounds from the government, as his *lods et ventes*. It will be perceived, by the practice of dividing the seigniories,

fiefs, and farms, among the children of their proprietors, how much the power of the seigniors must be reduced, and the people involved in litigation and disputes. Hence the noblesse are now nearly reduced to the common mass of the vulgar, and the Habitans make but little progress towards the acquisition of property and power.

With respect to the division of property in general, according to the civil law of Canada, it consists of moveable and immoveable property. Moveable property is any thing that can be moved without fraction. Immoveable property is any thing that cannot be moved, and is divided into two kinds, *propres* (personal), and *acquîts* (acquired).

Propre is an estate which is inherited by succession in the direct or collateral line; and *acquît* is an estate or property that is acquired by any other means.

Community of property is the partnership which husband and wife contract on marrying; but they may stipulate in their marriage-contract that there shall be no community of property between them.

The *dot*, or dowry, is all the property which the wife puts into the *community*, whether moveable or immoveable. But immoveable property falling to her in a direct or collateral line is a *propre* or personal estate to her, and does not fall into the *community*.

The *dower* is a certain right given to the wife

by law, or by particular agreement: it is of two kinds, the *customary dower*, and the *stipulated dower*. The former consists of half the property which the husband was possessed of at the time of their marriage, and half of all property which may come to him in a direct line. The *stipulated dower* is a certain sum of money, or portion of property, which the husband gives instead of the customary dower. The widow has only the use of the *customary dower* during her lifetime; at her death it falls to the children, who did not accept the succession of their father; but her heirs succeed to the stipulated dower. Hence, by the community, which exists in marriage, no man can dispose of any part of his property *without the consent of his wife;* and some compensation or present is generally made to the lady on those occasions. A gentleman of my acquaintance was once nearly prevented from purchasing a house, had not the fortunate interference of a quarter-cask of Madeira and a piece of fine Russia sheeting created a considerable *change* in the sentiments of the lady.

The custom of allowing community of property in marriages has frequently proved injurious to the survivor. If the wife died without a will, the children, when of age, would demand their mother's share; and it has often happened that the father has been obliged to sell off all his property, in order to ascertain its value, and divide it among the

claimants. The loss of a good business, or an estate, has sometimes been the consequence of this law. The parents now get wiser, and make wills which regulate the disposal of their property agreeable to the wishes of the survivor. The law of dowers has also given rise, frequently, to fraud. Some of the Canadians have opened a store with goods purchased on credit, and made over perhaps one half to the wife as her dower; they have then failed, and their creditors have lost their money. Some alterations and improvements have, however, been introduced of late, which render collusion in such cases less practicable.

No property in Lower Canada is secure to the purchaser, unless advertised and sold by the sheriff, which clears it from all encumbrances and after-claims. Sometimes a written agreement is entered into betwen the buyer and seller, in which the latter exonerates the former from all claims upon the property; but this is far from being safe, and is relying wholly upon the honour of another; for the buildings, lands, &c. may be seized by the creditors of the estate, even though it might have passed through twenty private sales since the debts were contracted. The sale of property advertised by the sheriff may be delayed, by an opposition put in for the wife's dower, or on account of an illegal seizure.

The power of arrests in Canada is limited. If

an affidavit is made that a man is about to leave the province in debt, for a sum exceeding 10*l.* sterling, the debtor may be arrested, and detained in prison until the debt is paid. But if he will swear that he is not worth 10*l.* sterling, the court will order the creditor to pay him five shillings currency per week.

From the foregoing sketch of Canadian jurisprudence, it may be easily conceived how puzzling and intricate some parts of the civil law must prove, and how much the Habitans are exposed and laid open to oppression from their seigniors under the feudal tenures. This subject was formerly canvassed in the provincial assembly, by some of the English members; who were for having proper bounds fixed to the power of the seigniors, and having all the fines and services due from their vassals accurately ascertained, and made generally known. But the French members, who had a great majority in the house, strongly opposed it, and the subject was dropped.

Instances of oppression on the part of the seigniors are, however, fortunately very rare, and the Habitans enjoy their property quiet and unmolested. Yet, in case of violent outrage, they can always come under the protecting power of the British laws, which will afford them that security of which their own are incapable.

The Canadians have no reason to complain of the change of government. Before the conquest they were often unacquainted with that protection which the laws now afford them. The will of the governor, or of his delegates, was an oracle which they were not at liberty even to interpret. They were completely at the mercy of their seigniors and the government people. All favours, penalties, rewards, and punishments almost entirely depended upon the will of the chief, who had the power of imprisoning without the semblance of a crime; and the still more formidable power of enforcing a reverence for his own decrees, as so many acts of justice, though in reality but the irregular sallies of a capricious imagination. The military, the people of the government, and others in power, took the provisions and cattle from the farmers at whatever price they condescended to give. These were, no doubt, abuses which the law forbade; but whenever the chief himself was guilty of oppression, there were always plenty to follow his example; and redress is not easily obtained by the weak, when it is the interest of the powerful to be corrupt. It is related of one of their governors, that when a poor countryman once fell upon his knees, and complained that both his horses had died of fatigue in the service of *le Grand Monarque*, he exclaimed, while he twirled his

croix de St. Louis, "My God! but you have got the *skins*, and what more do you want? They are too much for you; they are too much."

The lawyers who practise in Lower Canada are nearly all French; not more than one-fifth at most are English. They are styled advocates, and act in the double capacity of counsellor and attorney. Formerly they included the profession of notary public; but that is now separated from the rest, and forms a distinct profession. Lawsuits are numerous, and are daily increasing; as may be ascertained by the duties upon them, for the purpose of erecting the new court-house at Quebec. In 1800 this tax produced 500*l.* per annum; and in 1807 it had increased nearly to 1000*l.* per annum. The duty is now discontinued, as the object for which it was levied is accomplished. The building cost about 5000*l.* currency.

The French lawyers are not possessed of very shining abilities. Their education is narrow and contracted, and they have but few opportunities of becoming acquainted with those intricacies and nice discriminations of the law that prevail in the English courts. The English advocates are generally better informed; and some of them either study law in England, or under the attorney- and solicitor-generals in Canada, who are generally men of considerable ability and extensive practice. The Canadian lawyers are not excelled in the art

of charging even by their brethren in England. Their fees are high, though regulated in some measure by the court. Notaries charge 25*s.* merely for making a protest. They are always accompanied by a brother notary, who receives 7*s.* 6*d.* for his walk, and for attesting the signature to the protest. Tenacious as the Habitans are of their money, they are often involved in litigation, and the young advocates know how to avail themselves of the ignorance of their clients.

"To be at law," says Montesquieu, "is a wretched condition of life; the title accompanies a man to his last moment; it descends to his posterity, and passes from one descendant to another, until the final extinction of the unfortunate family. Poverty seems always attached to that melancholy title. The strictest justice can prevent only a part of its misfortunes; and such is the state of things, that the formalities introduced for the preservation of public order are now become the scourge of individuals. Legal industry is become the scourge of fortune as well as commerce and agriculture: oppression there looks for food, and chicane brings on the ruin of the unfortunate litigant. The injustice, frequently, is not in the judgment but in the delay: the gaining of a suit often does more injury than would a contrary prompt decision. Honest men, heretofore, brought rogues before the tribunals, but now the rogues there sue honest

men. The trustee denies his trust, in the hope that timid right will soon cease to demand justice; and the ravisher acquaints the object of his violence, that it would be imprudent to call him to an account for his transgression."

The truth of the preceding observations will be readily admitted by every man who has had any thing to do with the law. It is, however, easier to expose evils than to remove them; and it is but a poor consolation to grieve over that which we cannot remedy. The law in Canada is extremely tedious; but, to compare it with the law of Scotland, and the English court of Chancery, is to compare the fleetness of the hare with the sluggish motion of the snail.

Among the judges in Canada, the late chief justice Allcock shone conspicuously for learning and profound knowledge of jurisprudence. His abilities as a lawyer were equalled only by his upright conduct as a judge. In all his decisions he tempered the law with equity; a proceeding highly necessary in such a country as Canada, where, from the anomalies of the French civil law, and the illiteracy of the great body of the people, it is difficult to render justice to whom it is due.

Mr. Sewell, the late attorney-general, succeeded to Mr. Allcock's situation. He is a gentleman of considerable talents, and thoroughly conversant with the practice of the Canadian laws. The at-

torney-generalship being thus vacated, it was not found a very easy matter to fill it with abilities equal to Mr. Sewell's; and for some time the solicitor-general and all the English advocates were upon the *qui vive*, each expecting that he should be the happy man: but his excellency Sir James Craig, to the confusion of many, and the astonishment of all, appointed Mr. Bowen, one of the youngest advocates of Quebec, of course not an experienced civilian, but possessed of very respectable talents and acquirements. The salary is not more than 300*l.* per annum; but the government-practice attached to the situation is considered worth more than 2000*l.* a year, independent of the private practice. Mr. Bowen, however, received the situation only upon the condition of his giving up the latter, and attending for three years wholly to the government business, after which he was at liberty to resume it. This appointment, and the conditions upon which it was given, afford a certain proof of his excellency's desire to encourage merit and to benefit the public service *.

The expenses of the civil list, in Lower Canada, amounted in the year 1807 to 44,410*l.* 3*s.* 1½*d.* sterling; about three-fourths of this sum are de-

* Since that time a new attorney-general has been sent out by Lord Castlereagh to supersede Mr. Bowen!

frayed by the province out of the king's domains, and duties payable on the importation of certain articles into Lower Canada ; the remainder is supplied by Great Britain, which also supports the protestant clergy, the military, and Indian establishments. In order to afford a clear idea of the expenses of the government of Lower Canada, I shall present the reader with the following statement of receipts and expenses upon an average of three years, from the time the new constitution took place in 1791 to 1803. The civil expenses have augmented but little since the latter period, although the receipts have greatly increased in consequence of the non-intercourse laws of the United States.

Table of Receipts and Expenses of the Province of Lower Canada, since the New Constitution.

Receipts from the King's Domains.	1794. £.	s.	d.	1798. £.	s.	d.	1803. £.	s.	d.
King's Posts - - - - Let	400	0	0	400	0	0	400	0	0
Forges of St. Maurice at Three Rivers do.	—	—	—	20	16	8	850	0	0
King's Quay at Quebec - - do.	—	—	—	—	—	—	300	0	0
Droit de Quint, or Fifth on Fiefs	—	—	—	3,828	13	11	263	0	0
Cens et Rentes	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lods et Ventes	—	—	—	—	—	—	4,667	7	9
Imposts and Duties.									
Duty on Sugar, Foreign Wine, Coffee, Molasses, and Pepper, 6 Geo. II. and 4th and 6th Geo. III.	—	—	—	14	3	$5\frac{1}{6}$	23	5	11
Ditto on Brandy, Rum, and Licenses to Retailers of Strong Liquors, 14 Geo. III.	4,385	18	10	6,608	2	6	8,476	3	1
Duties imposed by the Provincial Parliament.									
On Wines, Act passed 1793	1,842	16	6	2,084	18	4	1,781	18	0
On Rum, Molasses, Sugars, Tobacco, Coffee, Cards, Salt, Licenses to Publicans and Hawkers	—	—	—	9,220	11	5	12,518	5	4
On Manufactured Tobacco	—	—	—	—	—	—	638	8	9
On Billiards	—	—	—	—	—	—	87	10	0
On Pilotage, for improving the Navigation of the River	—	—	—	260	14	4	580	6	8
On Warrants, Law, &c. for replacing the £5,000 advanced for Building the Court-House, taken off in 1807	—	—	—	—	—	—	558	14	1
Fines, Penalties, &c.	25	12	1	342	8	9	95	12	$3\frac{1}{4}$
Total Receipts	5,854	7	5	22,780	9	$4\frac{7}{6}$	31,241	4	$10\frac{3}{4}$
Expenses of the Government.									
Amount of Warrants granted for the Payment of the Civil Expenses, Salaries, Pensions, and incidental Expenses	22,206	5	8	26,682	2	$11\frac{1}{2}$	41,120	19	$5\frac{3}{4}$
Expenses of the Legislative Council and House of Assembly	—	—	—	1,517	15	$2\frac{1}{2}$	2,099	4	$4\frac{1}{2}$
Total Expenses	22,206	5	8	28,199	18	2	43,220	3	$10\frac{1}{4}$

By the preceding table of receipts and expenses of the civil government, it appears that the forges of St. Maurice, at Three Rivers, which belong to the king, have risen considerably in value, and that in 1798 they brought no more than 20*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* per annum, whereas in 1803 they let to Messrs. Munro and Bell, merchants of Quebec, for 850*l.* per annum: these gentlemen had a lease for three years, and the concern answered so well, that they laid out large sums of money upon the property. In 1806 the lease expired, and was again put up to public sale, when the same gentlemen received the forges with a lease of twenty years for the paltry sum of 60*l.* per annum; they were the only bidders, through some accident which prevented another merchant from attending the sale; but I was told that they intended to have bid as far as 1200*l.* per annum for it, rather than have let it go out of their hands. How this transaction has been managed, is yet a mystery; the fault can attach only to those who disposed of the property in such a shameful manner, by which the public will sustain a loss of 22,800*l.*

The fluctuation of the *droits de quint*, or fifths, upon the sale of fiefs, which I have before noticed, is fully exemplified in those of the royal domains mentioned in the table, where it appears that no less than 3,828*l.* 13*s.* 11*d.* were received in 1798, and in the year 1803 only 263*l.* 0*s.* The king's

posts are trading places for furs, and are now in the hands of the North-west Company; they have also risen in value far above the annual rent paid for them, and when the leases are out will no doubt bring a very considerable sum, provided they are not disposed of like the forges of St. Maurice.

Among the articles upon which duties have been laid, both by the provincial and imperial parliaments, rum is the most productive; and in the course of eight years the duty has more than doubled itself. It is frequently retailed at 5*s.* per gallon, and might yet bear an additional duty that would make up the deficiency in the revenue, for the support of the civil government, which is at present supplied by Great Britain.

Salaries of the different Officers belonging to the Government of Lower Canada, in Sterling Money.

	£.
Governor General, if absent, 2,000*l.*—resident -	4,000
Lieutenant Governor, ditto 2,000*l.*— ditto -	4,000
Lieutenant Governor of Gaspé - - - -	400
The Members of the Executive Council, each -	100
Chief Justice of Quebec and the Province - -	1,500
Chief Justice of Montreal - - - - -	1,100
Seven puisne Judges, including their Salaries as Counsellors, each - - - - - - -	850
Provincial Judge of Three Rivers - - -	500
Provincial Judge of Gaspé - - - -	200
Attorney-General—salary 300*l.*—Government Practice	2,000
Solicitor General—salary 200*l.*— Ditto -	1,500
Judge of the Vice Admiralty Court - - -	200
Protestant Bishop of Canada - - - -	3,500
Twelve Protestant Clergymen, each from -	200 to 500

	£.
Provincial Secretary	400
Secretary to the Governor, Clerk to the Crown in Chancery, and Clerk to the Executive Council; which three places are held by one person	800
Assistant Secretary	200
Clerk in the Chateau Office	120
French Translator to the Government	200
Provincial Aide de Camp	200
Adjutant General of the Militia	200
Receiver General	400
Superintendant General of the Indian Department	1,000
Storekeeper General of the Indian Department	350
Inspectors and Cultivators of Hemp, each	200
Inspector General of Accounts	360
Surveyor General	300
Deputy Surveyor General	150
Grand Voyer of the Province	500
Grand Voyer of Quebec, and Superintendant of Post-Houses	250
Grand Voyer of Montreal, 150*l.*—Three Rivers, 90*l.* Gaspé	50
Inspector General of Forests, and Inspector of Police at Quebec	300
Inspector of Police at Montreal	100
Inspector of Chimneys at Quebec, 60*l.*—Montreal, 60*l.* Three Rivers	15
Naval Officer at Quebec	100
Harbour Master of Quebec	100
Interpreters to the Indians, each	100
Sheriffs at Quebec and Montreal, 100*l.* each, supposed perquisites	1,500
Sheriff at Three Rivers, 50*l.* perquisites	500
Sheriff at Gaspé, 40*l.* perquisites	200
Coroners at Quebec and Montreal, each	50
Pensions to various persons, about	3,000

Exclusive of the expenses for the civil establishment of Lower Canada, which are chiefly defrayed by the province, the British government is at considerable expense for the maintenance of the English clergy, the distribution of presents to the Indians, and the military force and fortifications requisite for the security of the colony. As I am without the official documents necessary to ascertain the actual sum expended by Great Britain annually on account of the two provinces, I can only form a probable estimate of the amount, which, according to the best information I have been able to procure, cannot be less than 500,000*l.* sterling. It must, however, be observed, that the expenses of the colony are always in a fluctuating state, in consequence of the increase or diminution of the military force, and the extraordinary repairs of fortifications. The military expenses alone for 1808 must be very great, and together with 1809, most likely, be near a million sterling.

The expenses of the civil government in Upper Canada are defrayed by direct taxes; by duties upon articles imported from the United States; and a sum granted by the Lower province out of certain duties. In Upper Canada, lands, houses, and mills; horses, cows, pigs, and other property are valued, and taxed at the rate of *one penny* in the pound. Wood-lands are valued at one shilling per acre, and cultivated lands at 50*s.*

per acre. A house with only one chimney pays no tax; but with two it is charged at the rate of 40*l.* per annum, though it may be but a mere hovel.

The inhabitants of Lower Canada pay no direct taxes, except for the repair of roads, highways, paving streets, &c., and then they have the choice of working themselves, or sending one of their labourers with a horse and cart, &c. The revenue is raised, as stated in the table of receipts and expenses.

The French Canadians are very averse from taxation in a direct way, and much opposition is always experienced from the French members of the House of Assembly, whenever any proposition, however beneficial, may be offered, which involves a direct cess. The utility of turnpikes has often been agitated in the provincial parliament; and though the country would be greatly improved by the opening of new roads and communications with distant settlements, yet the measure has always been violently opposed by the French party. The communication between Canada and the United States, by the way of Lake Champlain, is extremely difficult; the roads are execrable, and will never be improved until turnpikes are established upon them. A very considerable trade is carried on between the two countries, and would increase with the facility of

communication. The ignorance and obstinacy, however, of several of the French members have hitherto baffled the more enlarged and liberal views of the British merchants, who are ever desirous of affording the utmost facility to trade and commerce.

CHAPTER XII.

Commerce of Lower Canada—Settlement of the French in the Country—Situation of the Colony in 1765*—Improper Conduct of the British Traders—Dissatisfaction of the Canadian Noblesse and Peasantry—General Murray's Letter to the Lords of the Council—Table of Imports and Exports of Canada, from* 1754 *to* 1807*—Progressive Increase of Commerce—Wheat—Exports of* 1808*—Residence of the Governor-general, necessary for the Welfare of the Colony—Fur-Trade—Mr. M'Tavish—North-West Company—Michillimakinak Company—Outrage committed by the Americans on Lake Ontario.*

The commerce of Canada, previous to the conquest of the country by the English, was trifling and unimportant, and the balance of trade considerably against the colony. It is only within the last thirty years that it has become of sufficient magnitude to claim the attention of enterprising individuals, and to be of political importance to the mother-country.

It was, perhaps, an unfortunate circumstance

for Canada, that it was colonized by the French, who are a people little qualified for agriculture, and less for commerce. Their flighty and volatile imaginations having been checked by the disappointment of not discovering gold or silver mines, by which they had promised themselves the immediate possession of immense riches, they could ill brook a residence in such a dreary country, where the ground was covered one half the year with snow.

Agriculture, with them, was a matter of necessity rather than of choice, and it is possible that they were very ignorant of that art. The first settlers being composed chiefly of soldiers, and men of a roving and adventurous spirit, very steady or regular habits could not be expected from them. The chase, therefore, offered greater charms than the slow and tedious process of agriculture; and few could be found who did not prefer the gun to the plough.

The produce of the chase not only supplied them with provisions, but also with clothing; and in a short time the peltry which they procured in their excursions came to be estimated at its proper value, and afforded them a very profitable article for exportation to the mother-country. The forests, independent of their animal productions, abounded with inexhaustible quantities of valuable timber; and the seas, rivers, and

lakes, were equally abundant in every species and variety of fish. These articles, with a few other natural productions, formed the only source of trade in the colony for nearly a century and half; and they were far from being equivalent to the demands of the colonists, who imported from France more than double the amount of their exports; by which means their expenses greatly exceeded their incomes, and reduced the credit of the colony to a very low ebb.

A variety of expedients were proposed and adopted, to remedy this defect; among the rest was the issuing of paper-money, which in a few years accumulated so rapidly, that scarcely any coin was to be found in the country. French sols, consisting of brass and a very small mixture of silver, which passed for rather less than a penny, were all that was circulated. The paper-currency having no stability in itself, in consequence of its payment being protracted from year to year, fell at length into disrepute, and at the period of the conquest more than 200,000*l.* were due to the colony by the French nation on account of bills of exchange and paper currency. This sum was afterwards liquidated by France, through the interference of Great Britain; but the colonists sustained a very considerable loss.

When the English took possession of Canada, both commerce and agriculture were in a very

low state, and it was several years before either became of sufficient value to interest the government, or reward the exertions of individuals. Of the situation of the colony in 1765, about six years after the capture of Quebec, a very accurate account has been given by General Murray, at that time governor and commander-in-chief, in a letter to the lords of trade and plantations. A long warfare, and the subsequent conquest of the country, had distressed and agitated the minds of the inhabitants, who saw themselves reduced to subjection, and governed by a handful of men. The noblesse and clergy felt their pride hurt, and themselves humbled, by the loss of their power and influence among the people; and the people, exposed to the action of laws and regulations with which they were unacquainted, or which they comprehended with difficulty, became restless and uneasy under a government differing so essentially from their own. It seldom happens that innovations in the laws and government of a country, however beneficial they may eventually prove, are attended in their outset with peaceable acquiescence on the part of the people; and in a subjugated country especially, a very ready compliance with the will of the conquerors can hardly be expected from the conquered. Time, which generally annihilates or softens all animosity and discontent, affords the only chance of success,

The peculiarities of temper and opinion are gradually worn away by promiscuous converse, as angular bodies and uneven surfaces lose their points and asperities by frequent attrition against each other, and approach by degrees to uniform rotundity.

The letter to which I have alluded was written by General Murray, soon after his arrival in England, in 1766, in which year he left the government of Canada. As it is an official paper, its accuracy of course may be depended on. I therefore avail myself of the opportunity to lay it before my readers, as it affords a better picture of the situation of affairs in the province at that period, than any other account I have met with.

"My Lords,

"In Mr. Secretary Conway's letter to me of the 24th October, 1764, I am ordered to prepare for my return to England, in order to give a full and distinct account of the present state of the province of Quebec; of the nature and account of the disorders which have happened there; and of my conduct and proceedings in the administration of the government. In obedience to that command, I have the honour to report as follows:—and first the state of the province:

"It consists of one hundred and ten parishes, exclusive of the towns of Quebec and Montreal. These parishes contain 9,722 houses, and 54,575 Christian souls; they occupy, of arable land, 955,754 arpents. They sowed in the year 1765, 180,300½ minots of grain, and that year they possessed 12,546 oxen, 22,724 cows, 15,039 young horned cattle, 27,064 sheep, 28,976 swine, and 13,757 horses, as appears by the annexed

recapitulation *(recensement)* taken by my order, in the year 1765. The towns of Quebec and Montreal contain about 14,700 inhabitants. The Savages, who are called Roman-catholics, living within the limits of the province, consist of 7,400 souls: so that the whole, exclusive of the king's troops, do amount to 76,275 souls; of which, in the parishes are 19 protestant families; the rest of that persuasion (a few half-pay officers excepted) are traders, mechanics, and publicans, who reside in the low towns of Quebec and Montreal Most of them were followers of the army, of mean education, or soldiers disbanded at the reduction of the troops. All have their fortunes to make, *and, I fear, few are solicitous about the means, when the end can be attained.* I report them to be, in general, the *most immoral* collection of men I ever knew: of course, little calculated to make the new subjects enamoured with our laws, religion, and customs; and far less adapted to enforce these laws, which are to govern.

"On the other hand, the Canadians, accustomed to an arbitrary and a sort of military government, are a frugal, industrious, and moral race of men, who, from the just and mild treatment they met with from His Majesty's military officers, that ruled the country for four years, until the establishment of civil government, had greatly got the better of the natural antipathy they had to their conquerors.

"They consist of a noblesse, who are numerous, and who pique themselves much upon the antiquity of their families, their own military glory, and that of their ancestors. These noblesse are seigniors of the whole country, and, though not rich, are in a situation in that plentiful part of the world, where money is scarce, and luxury still unknown, to support their dignity. Their tenants, who pay only an annual quit-rent of about a dollar for one hundred acres, are at their ease, and comfortable. They have been accustomed to respect and obey their noblesse; their tenures being military in the feudal manner, they have shared with them the dangers of the field, and natu-

ral affection has been increased in proportion to the calamities which have been common to both, from the conquest of the country. As they have been taught to respect their superiors, and are not yet intoxicated with the abuse of liberty, they are shocked at the insults which their noblesse and the king's officers have received from the English traders, and lawyers, since the civil government took place. It is natural to suppose they are jealous of their religion. They are very ignorant: it was the policy of the French government to keep them so: few or none can read. Printing was never permitted in Canada till we got possession of it. Their veneration for the priesthood is in proportion to their ignorance: it will probably decrease as they become enlightened, for the clergy there are of mean birth and very illiterate; and as they are now debarred from supplies of ecclesiastics from France, *that order of men will become more and more contemptible, provided they are not exposed to persecution.* The state of the Roman clergy I have already described in my report to your lordships' office, in the year 1763; it will therefore be superfluous to say more on that subject here, as no alteration has happened since that time.

"I am really ignorant of any remarkable disorders which have happened in the colony, while I commanded there; the outrage committed on Mr. Walker, magistrate at Montreal, excepted. A thorough detail of that horrid affair I have already laid before the king's servants, in my letter to the lords of trade, of the 2d March 1765. I have annexed a copy of that letter, in case it may not have fallen into your lordships' hands.

"Disorders and divisions, from the nature of things, could not be avoided in attempting to establish the civil government in Canada, agreeable to my instructions, while the same troops who conquered and governed the country for four years remained in it. They were commanded by an officer, who by the civil establishment had been deprived of the government of half the province, and who remained, in every re-

spect, independent of the civil establishment. Magistrates were to be made, and juries to be composed, out of 450 contemptible settlers and traders. It is easy to conceive how the narrow ideas and ignorance of such men must offend any troops, more especially those who had so long governed *them*, and knew the means from which they were elevated. It would be very unreasonable to suppose that such men would not be intoxicated with the unexpected power put into their hands, and that they would not be eager to show how amply they possessed it. As there were no barracks in the country, the quartering of the troops furnished perpetual opportunities of displaying their importance and rancour. The Canadian noblesse were hated, because their birth and behaviour entitled them to respect; and the peasants were abhorred, because they were saved from the oppression they were threatened with. The resentment of the grand jury at Quebec put the truth of these remarks beyond doubt*. The silence of the king's servants to the governor's remonstrances in consequence of their presentments, though his secretary was sent to them on purpose to expedite an explanation, contributed to encourage the disturbers of the peace.

"The improper choice and numbers of the civil officers sent out from England increased the inquietudes of the colony. Instead of men of genius and untainted morals, the very reverse were appointed to the most important offices; and it was impossible to communicate, through them, those impressions of the dignity of government, by which alone mankind can be held together in society. The judge fixed upon to conciliate the minds of 75,600 foreigners to the laws and government of Great Britain was taken from a gaol, entirely ignorant of civil law, and of the language of the people. The attorney-general, with regard to the language of the people,

* The grand jury presented the Roman Catholics as a nuisance, on account of their religion, &c.

was not better qualified. The offices of secretary of the province, register, clerk of the council, commissary of stores and provisions, provost martial, &c., were given by patent to men of interest in England, who let them out to the best bidders; and so little did they consider the capacity of their representatives, that not one of them understood the language of the natives. As no salary was annexed to these patent places, the value of them depended upon the fees, which by my instructions I was ordered to establish, equal to those of the richest ancient colony. This heavy tax, and the rapacity of the English lawyers, were severely felt by the poor Canadians: but they patiently submitted; and though stimulated to dispute it by some of the licentious traders from New-York, they cheerfully obeyed the stamp-act, in hopes that their good behaviour would recommend them to the favour and protection of their sovereign.

"As the council-books of the province, and likewise my answers to the complaints made against my administration, have been laid before your lordships, it is needless to presume to say any thing further on that subject, than that I glory in having been accused of warmth and firmness in protecting the king's Canadian subjects, and of doing the utmost in my power to gain to my royal master *the affections of that brave, hardy people, whose emigration, if ever it should happen, will be an irreparable loss to this empire;* to prevent which, I declare to your lordships, I would cheerfully submit to greater calumnies and indignities (if greater can be devised) than hitherto I have undergone.

"I have the honour to be, &c."

From the contents of this letter, it appears evident that much cordiality could not exist between the French inhabitants and the British settlers. The former were a people who prided themselves

on their ancestry, and consequently despised the latter, who were of mean birth, and possessed of still meaner abilities. The mutual disgust and jealousy which were thus created, tended very considerably to depreciate the state of the colony for some years: commerce declined rather than increased; nor did she raise her drooping head till order and regularity were introduced into the government, and its affairs were conducted by men of talent and worth: British subjects were then induced to emigrate to Canada, and embark their property in speculations which have since raised the colony to an unexampled state of prosperity.

The following table of imports and exports will exhibit the progressive augmentation of commerce from the year 1754 to the present period. I have only enumerated the principal staple commodities which are exported; the other colonial produce is included with the furs, which have always formed the chief support of the colony.

General View of the Imports and Exports of Canada, from 1754 to 1808, in Sterling Money.

Yrs	No. of Vessels	Imports or Exports.	Where from and to.	Articles.	Separate Amount.	General Amount.
1754	53	Imports	France	Merchandise - - - - £.	157,646 5 0	
—	—	———	From West Indies	Wine, Rum, Brandy, &c. - -	59,123 7 6	
—						216,769 12 6
—	52	Exports	To France	Furs - - - - - -	64,570 2 6	
—	—	—	Ditto	Oil, Ginseng, Capillaire, Timber, &c. -	7,083 6 0	
	—	—	Louisbourg, &c.	Fish, Oil, Iron, Vegetables, &c. - -	3,906 19 2	
						75,560 7 8
				Balance against the Colony.	£.	141,209 5 4
				1769.		
1769	34	Exports	From Quebec	Furs and Sundries - - - -	345,000 0 0	
—	—	—		Oil, Fish, &c. from Labrador - -	10,000 0 0	
						355,000 0 0
—	—	Imports	From England	Manufact[d] Goods and W. India produce		273,400 0 0
				Balance in favour of the Colony.	£.	81,600 0 0

1786.

Yrs.	No. of Vessels	Imports or Exports.	Where from.	Articles.	Separate Amount.	General Amount.
1786	93	Exports	From Quebec	Furs and other colonial produce	£. 445,116 0 0	
—	—	——	——	Fish, Lumber, and Oils, from Labrador and Gaspé - - - -	45,000 0 0	
						490,116 0 0
—	—	Imports	From England	Manufactured Goods and West India produce - - - - -		343,263 0 0
				Balance in favour of the Colony	£.	146,853 0 0
				1797.		
1797	105	Exports	From Quebec	Furs and other Colonial produce -	295,063 15 0	
—	—	—	——	Wheat, Biscuit, and Flour - -	45,445 14 0	
—	—	—	——	Oak & Pine Timber, Planks & Staves	32,144 6 0	
—	—	—	——	Pot and Pearl Ashes - - -	29,866 0 0	
—	—	—	——	Fish, Lumber, Oil, &c. from Labrador and Gaspé - - - -	88,900 0 0	
						491,419 15 0
—	—	Imports	From England	Manufactured Goods, and West India produce - - - - -		338,214 0 0
				Balance in favour of the Colony	£.	153,205 15 0

1807

Yrs.	No. of Vessels	Imports or Exports	Where from and to.	Articles.	Separate Amount.	General Amount.
1807	270	Exports	From Quebec.	Furs and other Colonial produce	£240,000 0 0	
—	—	—	——	Wheat, Biscuit, and Flour - -	149,558 18 8	
—	—	—	——	Oak & Pine Timber, Planks & Staves -	134,344 10 0	
—	—	—	——	Pot and Pearl Ashes - - -	104,329 15 7	
—	—	—	——	Fish, Lumber and Oil from Labrador, &c.	115,555 11 1	
—	—	Exports	To Un. States pr way of Lake Champlain.	Furs and sundries - - - -	70,112 0 3	
						813,900 15 4
—	—	Imports	From England	Manu^d. Goods, &c. 200,000 0 0		
—	—	—	——	West India produce 106,670 14 0		
					306,670 14 0	
—	—	Imports	From Un. States.	Merchandize - 29,200 17 9		
—	—	—	——	Oak & Pine Timber, Staves, &c. 39,000 0 0		
—	—	—	——	Pot and Pearl Ashes 29,099 2 0		
—	—	—		Tea, Tobacco, Leather, &c. 63,324 0 0		
					160,623 19 9	
						467,294 13 9
				Balance in favour of the Colony		£346,606 1 7

1808.

Yrs.	No. of Vessels	Imports or Exports.	Where from and to.	Articles.				Separate Amount.			General Amount.		
1808	334	Exports	From Quebec.	Furs and other Colonial produce				£350,000	0	0			
—	—	—	—	Wheat, Biscuit, and Flour				171,200	0	0			
—	—	—	—	Oak & Pine Timber, Staves, Masts, &c.				157,360	0	0			
—	—	—	—	Pot and Pearl Ashes				290,000	0	0			
—	—	—	—	New Ships—3750 tons—10*l.* per ton				37,500	0	0			
—	—	Exports	From Labrador and Gaspé	Fish, Lumber, Oil, &c.				120,000	0	0			
—	—	Exports	To Un. States pr way of Lake Champlain	Sundries about				30,000	0	0			
											1,156,060	0	0
—	—	Imports	From England	Manufactured Goods	200,000	0	0						
—	—	—	—	West India produce	130,000	0	0						
								330,000	0	0			
—	—	Imports	From Un. States	Merchandize, Teas, Provisions, Tobacco, &c.	100,000	0	0						
—	—	—	—	Oak, Pine Timber, Masts, &c.	70,000	0	0						
—	—	—	—	Pot and Pearl Ashes	110,000	0	0						
								280,000	0	0			
											610,000	0	0
				Balance in favour of the Colony						£	546,060	0	0

This table of imports and exports is derived from official documents, but for the years 1797, 1807, and 1808, the amount of the exports was not mentioned in the lists published by the Custom-house at Quebec: I have, however, been able to ascertain the sums by the price-current for those years; and I have reason to believe there are but a few pounds difference, either one way or the other, when the amount of the exports is taken in the aggregate. The progressive improvement of commerce is strikingly exemplified in the exports for 1807 and 1808, and, when compared with those of former years, must clearly show what the province is capable of, provided that her resources are properly brought into action.

It appears that in 1754, under the French government, there was a balance *against* the colony of 141,209*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.* sterling: this great deficiency could have been supplied only by the large sums expended for the military establishment, the support of the government, and the building of ships for the service of the French government in Europe, which were paid for by bills drawn on the treasury of France. In 1769 commerce appears to have increased more rapidly than could have been expected; and if the amount of exports for that year can be depended on, a balance remained *in favour* of the colony of 81,600*l.* sterling.

At that period, and for several years subsequent,

the principal articles of export consisted of peltry, lumber, oil, and fish, with a small quantity of ginseng and capillaire: these were shipped from Quebec, Labrador, and Gaspé. Within the last twenty years new staples have arisen, which have been exported to very large amounts, and promise to enrich the country equally with the fur trade. These articles are wheat, biscuit, and flour; pot- and pearl-ashes; which in 1807 amounted to one half the total exports of 1797. It must be allowed, however, that considerable quantities of pot- and pearl-ash are brought into Canada by the Americans from the United States; yet the clearing of the lands in Upper Canada and the Back settlements of the Lower Province produces annually a much greater quantity than what is obtained from the States. The French Canadians within these two or three years have begun to make ashes: they have seen the facility with which their brethren of the United States clear their lands and pay their expenses; and though late, yet are willing to profit by the example. Their poverty, or parsimony, had prevented them from paying 20*l.* for a pot-ash kettle, though they might, like the Americans, have made the salts in smaller quantities, and with little trouble or expense. But it requires a series of years to effect a change in the sentiments or actions of the French Habitans.

The great demand for wheat, which prevailed in Great Britain, and generally throughout Europe, in 1793-4 and 5, gave a sudden stimulus to the exertions of the Canadians, who during those years exported considerable quantities of wheat, as well as flour and biscuit. The increased price given for those articles tempted the inhabitants to continue as large a cultivation of grain in the subsequent years; but the demand declining, they experienced a sensible reduction in their exports, and a consequent curtailment of their incomes. The following statement will exhibit the fluctuating demand for wheat, biscuit, and flour, from 1796 to 1808.

	1796	1799	1802	1807	1808
Wheat—Bushels	3,166	128,870	1,010,033	234,545	186,708
Flour—Barrels	4,852	14,475	28,301	20,424	42,462
Biscuit—Cwt.	3,882	20,535	22,051	23,047	32,587

The unsettled state of the market for the above articles renders it necessary to establish some other of a more permanent nature, which might also be derived from agriculture, and would be the means of enriching the mother country as well as the colony. The only article which could effectually supply this want is hemp; and that alone, if cultivated to a sufficient extent, would be more than adequate to meet the whole expense of the imports.

The quantity of wheat exported in 1802 was unusually great, being one million ten thousand and thirty-three bushels; but in 1807 it had fallen to less than a fourth of that quantity, and in 1808 to less than a fifth: yet the general aggregate of the exports has augmented, as well as the number of ships and seamen.

The exportation of almost every other article in 1808 greatly exceeded that of the preceding year, in consequence of the embargo in the United States. The number of shipping that cleared out from Quebec in 1808 amounted to 334, and were laden principally with timber, pot-ash, pitch, tar, and turpentine; wheat, flax-seeds, staves, &c. The tonnage was 70,275, and the number of seamen 3,330. The greatest part of these vessels were sent by government, the usual supplies from the Baltic being in a great measure cut off by the war with Russia and Denmark; and the importations from the United States being totally stopped by the embargo. The advantage, therefore, of Great Britain deriving her supplies of *hemp*, as well as every other description of naval stores, from Canada, cannot for a moment be doubted. Even in time of peace they would encourage and enrich the British colonists, and the competition in the market with the productions of the United States, and the northern parts of Europe, would

inevitably tend to lessen the expenses of our navy and commercial marine.

The unusual demand for the natural productions of Canada, during 1808, enhanced the price of every article in proportion; and in spite of the embargo laws, abundance of timber and staves, pot- and pearl-ashes, and provisions of every description found their way across the boundary-line into Canada, and were shipped off to Europe or the West Indies. The Canadian merchants rejoiced at the embargo, which enriched them while it made their neighbours poor indeed. It has truly been a harvest for them; but I question whether this year will abound with such favourable opportunities for speculation as the last.

A very great object to the welfare of the colony is the residence of the governor-general. His presence stimulates the inhabitants to extraordinary exertions; while the large establishment he is obliged to support, added to the increased number of troops generally maintained in the colony during his residence, circulates a very considerable sum of money among the people, and creates throughout the community an universal spirit of activity. The laws are then better observed, and delay and irresolution in the actions of government can find no excuse: but when the principal is absent, and, as it has frequently happened, his deputy also, the other members of the government never

like to take any responsibility upon themselves: they would rather, I believe, that the most beneficial plans should miscarry, or even an enemy be allowed to ravage the country, than they would attempt to act *without positive instructions from home.*

The arrival of Sir James Craig diffused new life and activity through the province: the imbecility and irresolution which before characterized the government, instantly vanished; large sums of money were circulated by the troops; and the construction of new works, with the repairs of the old, gave full employment to the labouring part of the community; the price of visions became proportionally enhanced, chiefly at Quebec, where an unusual number of seamen and soldiers had taken up their residence: hence the country people were enriched, and encouraged to greater exertions.

The price of every thing has been nearly trebled within the last 60 years; but the colony has risen into importance: agriculture and commerce continue to improve and augment; many of its inhabitants possess handsome fortunes, and nearly all of them a moderate independence, or income, from trade.

The fur trade has been the principal source of all the wealth which has for many years been accumulated in the province. This branch of com-

merce, which fell into the hands of the English after the conquest, was carried on for several years by individuals on their own separate account; but about 25 years ago, the enterprising and active spirit of a Mr. M'Tavish laid the foundation of that association, at present known under the title of The North-west Company, for the purpose of extending that trade to its utmost limits. This was more likely to be accomplished by the joint stock of a company than the small properties of individual merchants, and the result has justified the expectations of its author. Much jealousy and competition was, however, excited by those north-west traders, who did not associate with Mr. M'Tavish and his friends, and for several years the greatest animosity subsisted between them. This opposition naturally gave rise to a second company, consisting of the individuals opposed to Mr. M'Tavish. Among the most conspicuous of the second association was Mr. M'Kenzie, now Sir Alexander. The enterprising spirit of this gentleman is well known, since the publication of his Travels across the North-west Continent to the Pacific Ocean. The concerns of his company were, therefore, managed with as much ability as the other, which made their opponents seriously wish to combine the two associations in one; but the proud and haughty spirit of Mr. M'Tavish would not allow it: he

resolutely withstood all attempts at an accommodation, and spared neither expense nor trouble to crush the exertions of his rivals. Death, however, which too often annihilates the fairest hopes of sublunary bliss, put an end to the contest; Mr. M'Tavish died, the companies immediately joined their stocks, and commenced partnership, in which state they remain at this day; the business being conducted under the firm of M'Gillivray, Roderick M'Kenzie, and Co. though the number of persons who have shares in the company amounts, it is said, to more than forty. The clerks, travellers, and Indians, employed by the North-west company, amount to upwards of 3000.

The clerks are all adventurous young Scotchmen, who emigrate, from penury in the islands of the Hebrides, to certain hardships and dubious affluence in the dreary wilds of the north-west. They engage for a term of five or seven years, after which they have a certain yearly allowance, or become partners in the company. The hardships and fatigue which they undergo, frequently tend to the enervation of their frame and the destruction of their health; so that at the period of fifteen or twenty years it is not uncommon for them to retire from the company with a fortune of 20,000*l.* and a broken constitution.

Of late years the profits of the company have

been considerably diminished by the restrictions on our commerce on the continent of Europe, where the chief demand for furs exists. Considerable quantities are however sent to the United States, from whence they are exported to Europe under their neutral flag: an opening is thus created for the company's peltry, which would otherwise have been very much contracted during the war. The number of skins exported to England in 1807 was 460,000, and to the United States 286,703; but the embargo in 1808 must have much lessened the demand from that quarter. Upwards of 20,000*l.* is annually paid in England for the duties on furs from Canada.

The capital employed by the North-west company must be very extensive, as the returns are extremely slow. The trade is now pushed to the very extremity of the continent; from the coast of Labrador to the Pacific Ocean, extending to the northward beyond the arctic circle. The goods sent up annually from Montreal, for the barter of furs from the Indians, are upwards of *four years before they produce a return.* The dangers and difficulties attending the transportation of these articles so many thousand miles across rivers, lakes, and portages, have been so well described by Sir Alexander M'Kenzie, in his history of the fur trade, that it is unnecessary for me to detail them here: it is sufficient to say

that they surpass any thing that can be formed in idea, by persons who never explored the vast expanse of waters, the gloomy and interminable forests, which cover the extensive dominions of British North America.

There is another association established within these few years, called The South-west or Michillimakinak Company: some of the partners in this association have also shares in the North-west company, but the general concern is totally separate. The South-west merchants pursue their trade across the lakes Ontario and Erie, and down the rivers Illinois, Ohio, and Mississippi, in the territory of the United States. In consequence of the embargo which took place last year in the United States, and which it was apprehended would affect the concerns of this company, one of the partners (Mr. Gillespie) went to Washington to procure from the government a safe conduct for their people and property employed in the trade. He was assured by Mr. Madison, that no interruption whatever should take place in the prosecution of their trade with the Indians in the United States' territory; and a clause was inserted to that effert in the supplementary embargo-act. Upon the return of Mr. Gillespie to Montreal, the people with the boats laden with the property for trade belonging to the company were accordingly sent off on their usual voyage.

On the 21st of May the first five boats arrived within the American limits, on Lake Ontario: they were hailed from the shore by order of the commandant of Niagara: but having no business at that place, the boats continued their route; when they were immediately fired upon by the Americans. Three of the advanced boats pulled up and escaped; the other two were brought-to and taken by the Americans, who finding there were several more astern, embarked in an armed boat, went in search of them, and captured five more, which they carried to Niagara. They then sailed after the remainder; but information being given by a gentleman, who immediately armed a boat and went to inform them of their danger, the brigade put about for Kingston, where they arrived in safety; having been chased for two days by the American armed boats.

No other motives, it is said, were assigned for this proceeding by the commandant of Niagara, than that he had acted agreeably to his orders. Some persons accounted for the outrage by his being a British deserter; he having escaped across the line, and entered the American service, in which he had risen to the rank of major in the army, and commandant of Fort Niagara; and that his enmity to us had prompted him to act as he had done, under the pretence that the embargo-law authorised him to do so. This, how-

ever, is not a probable circumstance, after the assurances that were made to Mr. Gillespie by the American government; and the mistake has no doubt by this time been rectified, as that gentleman set off again for Washington, immediately after the violence had been committed against the company.

I shall perhaps be hardly credited, when I say that manufactured *furs* can be obtained considerably *cheaper* in England than in Canada; that muffs, tippets, caps, and hats, are all much inferior, in their appearance, to those articles in London, and above a third higher in price. The Canadian furriers do not yet possess the art of turning their furs to the most advantage; their muffs and caps are heavy and cumbersome; and I hazard little in saying that a London furrier would make three muffs out of the quantity which a Canadian puts into one. The people of Canada, however, tell you that a London muff would not be warm enough in their country. As it is not yet the fashion for gentlemen to wear that comfortable appendage, I cannot refute their assertion; but I have no doubt that, if a furrier from London was to settle in Quebec, he would be preferred to every other. He must not, however, expect to make a rapid fortune; for fashions are not so inconstant in Canada as in England.

CHAPTER XIII.

Trade between Canada and the United States—Burlington Memorial to Congress—American Merchants settling at Montreal—Interest for Money not allowed to Catholics in Canada—Rafts of Timber—Productions of Upper Canada—Prosperity of that Province—Necessity of having good Roads—Manufactures—Iron-works at Three Rivers and Batiscan—Ship-building—Reduction of the Imports of English and East India manufactured Goods—Balance of Trade in favour of the United States—Smugglers—Evasion of the Embargo Laws—Vermontese in a State of Insurrection—Inferior Commodities preferred by the Canadians—Diversity of Opinion respecting the establishing a Bank in Lower Canada—Imports and Exports of 1807 *and* 1808 *—Duties payable on imported Goods—Post-Office Regulations—Roads and Distances, &c.*

A VERY considerable trade is now carried on between Canada and the United States across Lake Champlain. The importations into Lower Canada consist of various articles of merchandise, oak and pine timber, staves, pearl-ashes, provi-

sions, &c., and amounted in 1807 to upwards of 160,000*l.* sterling. The exports from Lower Canada to the United States do not amount to half the value of the imports. They consist chiefly of peltry and salt: the other articles are of a trifling nature. The balance is therefore greatly in favour of the States, and they receive the difference in specie.

When the first embargo-law took place, it did not affect those states bordering on Canada; but in order to put all the states upon a level, the American government passed several supplementary acts, strictly prohibiting all trade and commerce with foreign places. The impolicy of such a measure, and the detriment likely to accrue to the newly-settled states on the confines of Canada, were ably set forth by the inhabitants of the town of Burlington, in Vermont, in their memorial to Congress, praying a repeal of that part of the law which related to their state.

The whole of the memorial is well drawn up, and exhibits, in glowing colours, the distresses which the stagnation of their trade with Canada must entail upon the inhabitants of the newly settled states. But this, as well as innumerable other memorials for the repeal of the embargo, which arrived from all parts of the Union, made no impression upon Congress: the president answered them all in a very soft and insinuating

style, regretting that the outrages committed on the United States by the belligerent powers of Europe should render such sacrifices necessary.

Several Americans have of late years settled in Montreal, and carry on a lucrative trade throughout the country. Since the embargo, two or three merchants from Boston have opened large stores of British merchandise. I went to New York in company with one of them, Mr. Storrow, a gentleman of respectable family and connexions at Boston, where he has a partner who conducts his concerns during his residence in Canada. On my return to Canada, in the spring of 1808, he had brought his wife and family with him, and intended to take up his abode in the province for some time. He has met with great encouragement; and what is rather remarkable, the merchants of Montreal do not eye his exertions with jealousy; on the contrary, he has experienced a very hospitable and kind reception from them.

The people of the United States are certainly the most active and enterprising of any that inhabit the continent of America; they far surpass the British merchants resident in Canada, who, either from the inactivity produced by a long winter, or that they imbibe the languor of the French Canadians, have no great inclination to speculate to any considerable extent beyond the cus-

tomary routine of business. I must, however, except the companies employed in the fur trade, who have exhibited an indefatigable exertion, and spirit of speculative enterprise, that cannot be surpassed by the people of any nation in the world.

One great cause of the want of spirit and enterprise among the Habitans, or Canadian landholders, who, generally speaking, are possessed of considerable property, is occasioned by the restrictions of their priests, who will not permit them to put their money out to interest. They have no other mode of turning their money to account, but by increasing their landed property, or, if in trade, by increasing their stock. Hence, whatever profits and gains they are able to lay up must be put into a strong box, if they wish to secure it.

To lend their money without being able to receive interest for it (which, however, they sometimes do) is only hazarding their property for nothing: consequently the great majority of the French people who have spare cash, lock it up, year after year, in their coffers, where it lies an useless burthen. In no country is there a greater variety of old coins to be met with than in Canada; for, as the old people die off, the young ones bring their hoards of specie into circulation.

If a bank was established under the authority of the British government, it would, I conceive, be of considerable utility, inasmuch as it would prove a safe deposit for money, even if the priests continued to forbid their people from receiving interest for it: in that case a particular fund might be provided for vesting of such moneys, the security of which should be guarantied by the British Government; and in return for the benefit they would derive from the use thereof, the people should not be liable to the smallest loss in the disposal of such property, whatever might be the price of stocks at the time of sale. Some of the British merchants, who were in favour with the French clergy, have sometimes obtained considerable sums from the Habitans on loan, and have kept them for several years without paying a farthing interest: whether they made any *presents* in return, I do not know; but the Habitans have in one or two instances been great losers by their generosity. A merchant's house at Quebec, that broke about three years ago, was in possession of a great deal of money obtained in this way, most of which their creditors will never recover. In consequence of these losses, the Habitans will now put confidence only in their strong boxes.

The merchants of Canada are almost wholly British: they derive their resources from En-

gland, and in general have established themselves upon *small* capitals and *large* credits. This may perhaps in some measure account for the numerous failures that have taken place amongst them; and it is positively asserted as a fact, that since the country has been in our possession not more than *five in a hundred* have paid their debts. A variety of causes, no doubt, have contributed to this extraordinary defalcation: a tedious winter of six months, during which no business can be carried on with Europe, while *interest* upon their European debts is charged after a certain period, and continues winter as well as summer, is certainly a great drawback in mercantile concerns: the long credit also which the Canadian merchants are obliged to give the country store-keepers, tends very considerably to impede their remittances in due season, unless the utmost regularity is maintained.

The Canadian merchants cannot in general be charged with extravagance; yet, from the appearance which many of them maintain, they are often looked upon as men of fortune, when they are on the verge of bankruptcy. Protested bills coming back with the extravagant addition of twenty or twenty-five per cent. are also highly injurious to the merchant, and tend greatly to increase his difficulties. There are, however, no bankrupt laws in Canada, and perhaps the want

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of them has rendered men in business less punctual in their transactions than they would otherwise have been. A man in debt cannot be arrested, unless he is going to leave the province; nor can he be prevented from disposing of his property. You may go to law with him; but that only makes him spend *your* money the faster.

The timber and staves which are brought into Canada from the States are cut down in winter or spring, and collected into large rafts on lake Champlain, from whence they are floated down the river Richlieu into the St. Lawrence, and deposited along the shores of Silleri and Wolfe's Cove for an extent of more than five miles. There they are culled and sorted for the merchants, and then taken into the ships which lie off the Cove, or the wharfs at Quebec. *Standard* staves of $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, and five inches broad, sell in Canada usually from 40*l.* to 50*l.* the 1200. The freight is about the same amount.

The rafts, when coming down the river, exhibit a curious scene: they have several little sheds or huts, erected with boards for the accommodation of the rowers, whose number on large rafts frequently consists of upwards of 100 or 150. The men employed in this business are chiefly Americans from the state of Vermont: they live upon the rafts until they are separated for sale, when

they remove their huts to the shore, where they reside during the remainder of the season; at the end of which they return home.

Several rafts of timber, and scows laden with staves, flour, pork, and pot-ash, arrive annually, from Upper Canada, at Montreal and Quebec. The trade between the Upper and Lower Provinces has been important only within a very few years. The rapid increase of population and agriculture in the new settlements of Upper Canada has produced a large surplus of those articles for exportation, and the demand for them has risen in proportion. The following is a return of the productions that passed the rapids from Chateauguay to Montreal, between the 27th of April and the 28th of November 1807, the only period in which the St. Lawrence is navigable during the year :

19,893	barrels	Flour	in 39 Scows.
1,460	bushels	Wheat	
127	barrels	Pot-ash	
48	ditto	Pork	
8	packs	Furs	
277,010	feet	Oak Timber	in 340 Rafts.
4,300	ditto	Pine Ditto	
691,200	- -	Staves	
72,440	- -	Boards & Planks	
985	- -	Masts	
6,300	cords of Fire-wood, in 701 Cribs.		

This statement affords an agreeable presage of the future prosperity and opulence of the Upper

Province. Those persons with whom I have conversed concerning the state of Upper Canada generally speak of it as the garden of America, subjected neither to the tedious freezing winters of Lower Canada, nor the scorching summers of the more southern parts of the continent of North America. The principal inconveniences to which the Upper Province is subject are the falls and rapids, which impede the navigation of the St. Lawrence, between Kingston and Montreal, and its distance from any commercial or shipping-town from whence its productions may be exported to Europe. These are, however, in some measure removed, and a considerable abundance of the surplus produce of that province is now forwarded to Montreal and Quebec. If good roads were made between the two provinces, regular waggons might be established as in England, and goods conveyed up the country with more security and expedition than they can at present by water: a more regular communication would be then opened between the two seats of government, which would be the means of expediting the public business, and facilitating the commerce of both countries.

The manufactures of Lower Canada are carried on chiefly by individuals for their own domestic use: these and some others of a more general nature I have enumerated in a preceding chapter.

A manufactory of iron was established by the French, at Three Rivers, soon after the settlement of the country. That government, however, was never able to make it pay the expenses attending the work, and it fell into the hands of individuals, who succeeded very little better. The iron ore was at one time supposed to be nearly exhausted; but fresh veins having been discovered in the vicinity of the Forges, the works are now in a flourishing condition. I shall have an opportunity of describing them more particularly, when I speak of the town of Three Rivers, in a future chapter.

Another manufactory of iron has been established of late in the seigniory of Batiscan, about half way between Quebec and Three Rivers on the north shore. Large sums of money have been expended in endeavouring to bring these works to perfection; but very little success has hitherto attended the exertions of the proprietors, several of whom are considerable losers. The articles manufactured here consist of cast-iron stove plates, pots, kettles, and other domestic utensils.

Within the last twenty years, ship-building has been carried on at Quebec and Montreal to a very profitable extent every year. There are four builders at the former place, and one at the latter: from six to eight vessels are launched an-

nually: they range between two and five hundred tons, and are contracted for upon an average at 10*l.* per ton. The greatest advantage of this business is, that the men can work at it both *winter* and summer. The cordage and rigging are obtained from England; but the iron-work is mostly of Canadian manufacture. Nearly 20,000*l.* is annually circulated in the country for ship-building.

Upon a review of the preceding account of the commerce of Canada, it appears that a very sensible improvement has taken place within the last twenty years; and that the balance of trade, upon the whole, is now much in favour of the colony. It may be also worthy of remark, that the imports from Great Britain and her colonies, instead of increasing, have considerably diminished. For several years past, the East India and British manufactured goods imported into Canada annually from Great Britain, have been estimated at about 330,000*l.* sterling; but during the year 1807 they did not amount to more than 200,000*l.*: this surprising diminution, while the demands of the colony were increasing with its population, must naturally create astonishment, until it is known that the deficiency is supplied by the United States, partly by a regular trade, but much more by contraband. The articles now

furnished chiefly by the Americans, and which were formerly procured *solely* from England, are tea, tobacco, and East India manufactured goods. By the table of imports received at the custom-house at St. John's, on Lake Champlain, it appears that, in 1807, 42,000lbs. of tea, 187,887lbs. of tobacco, and merchandise consisting of British and East India goods to the amount of 30,000*l.* were imported from the United States through the regular channel; while the quantity of tea received from England was only 4,200lbs. and tobacco 150,000lbs. That exclusive of timber, pot-ash, and provisions, the total amount was calculated at 100,000*l.* equal to one-half the merchandise received that year from Great Britain.

Reckoning even upon this estimate, the deficiency of imports from Great Britain appears to be accounted for; but then no allowance is made for the increasing wants of the people, whose number must have greatly increased within the last twenty years: this, however, is to be found in the great latitude that is given to the introduction of goods from the United States, without passing through the custom-house at St. John's. The means of conveying them into Canada, across the extensive boundary line which divides the two countries, are so easy, and require so little exertion to avoid the Argus eyes of a custom-house officer,

that every temptation is offered to introduce articles which are either prohibited, or pay any considerable duty.

The facilities afforded to smuggling between Canada and the United States have been sufficiently exemplified since the promulgation of the Embargo-act; for, in spite of the armed militia and custom-house officers stationed along the American side of the line to enforce the laws, the timber, pot-ash, provisions, and almost every other article brought into the province in 1808 has more than doubled the quantity received from thence in 1807. A variety of curious expedients were resorted to by the Americans in smuggling their produce over the line: buildings were erected exactly upon the boundary line, one half in Canada, the other half in the States; the goods were put in at night, and before morning were safe in Canada. Additional laws, however, put a stop to this proceeding, and the officers were empowered to seize all property which they *suspected* was intended to be run into Canada: but the ingenuity of the Vermontese still evaded even these rigorous mandates. They constructed a great number of timber-rafts, fastened them together, and formed immense bodies of floating wood; one of them even covered ten acres; and from its size, and in ridicule of Mr. Jefferson, was called the *Mammoth Raft*. These were manned wholly by

French Canadians collected for that purpose, and were rowed within a short distance of the line; when the custom-house officers, aided by a detachment of the militia, immediately took possession, and obliged the people on board to cast anchor: this was accordingly complied with, and for a few days the rafts remained quietly moored. There were immense quantities of provisions, potash, and staves on board; and the people were conveniently lodged in their wooden huts, which, with the great number of men employed to row them, formed a very extraordinary spectacle. It was not long, however, before the whole were soon in action again; for a violent gale of wind coming on one night, blew the unwieldy rafts with all their civil and military heroes on board completely over the line. The American officers and militia no sooner found themselves in Canada, than they hastily took to their boats and rowed back to the States, sorely chagrined at losing so many valuable prizes.

Strong remonstrances were made by the commanding officers on these expeditions; and information was sent to Mr. President Jefferson, who at length was pleased to issue a proclamation declaring the inhabitants of Vermont to be in a state of rebellion and insurrection, and ordered out reinforcements of the militia to quell the disturbances. The Vermontese were much enraged at the idea of being considered and denounced as rebels,

in consequence of a few frays between the custom-house officers and smugglers; and many of them, as I passed through that state on my return to Canada, declared to me that the disturbance existed only in the president's *brain*. Nothing indeed very serious took place; a few broken heads were all that resulted from the opposition to the laws. A great and serious inconvenience was felt at this period by the British settlers in Missisqui Bay, the entrance from which into Lake Champlain is cut by the boundary line, and several rafts were thus prevented from passing down the Richlieu river into the St. Lawrence; they having no outlet but by way of the States.

The lucrative trade which is carried on between Canada and the adjoining States has rendered the Americans very adverse to a war between the two countries, as the prosperity of their respective States almost entirely depends upon that opening for the disposal of their surplus produce. Greater facility and advantages are afforded by the exportation to Canada than to any of the maritime towns in New England: nothing, therefore, but absolute necessity would drive them into a war with the British settlements. They also lay a duty of nearly 15 per cent. on goods from Canada, while their productions sent into that country pay but a mere trifle.

The Canadians are more inclined to encourage

the importation of goods from the States, than from Great Britain, because they are obtained at a much cheaper rate, though generally of an inferior quality. The intrinsic worth of an article is, however, of less consideration to the inhabitants of Canada than the price; the best kind is seldom or never to be procured in that country: the merchants find their own advantage in the vending of inferior commodities, upon which they obtain much larger profits than they could procure upon the better sort; and the people are now so accustomed to the use of these goods, that they scarcely know how to appreciate those of a superior quality.

Much diversity of opinion has existed of late in Canada upon the propriety of establishing a bank in that country. The British merchants of course are eager for the creation of such an establishment, having before their eyes the example of Great Britain and the United States, where the banking system is carried on with so much success and advantage. The subject was discussed in 1808 in the house of assembly; and Mr. Richardson of Montreal, one of the members, answered the several objections that were urged against the establishment of a bank in Lower Canada. It was said that the people were illiterate, and therefore liable to be imposed on; that it would encourage a spirit of gambling, and speculation founded upon false capitals; and that it would occasion the small por-

tion of specie at present in the province to disappear. In reply to these objections it was urged, that the inconvenience to be apprehended from the illiteracy of the people had certainly some weight, but was capable of being remedied by devices upon the bank-notes which should point out to them, on view thereof, the relative value. Forgeries might be guarded against, or at least rendered difficult, by additional precautions in the paper issued for the notes, and the plates from which the impressions were made: an advantage over the United States would also be had in the punishment of forgery, which would be death! whereas in that country it was merely imprisonment: besides, gold and silver are liable to be counterfeited, and it would be strange to argue from thence that the use of coin ought to be abandoned. With respect to speculating upon a false capital, such might be practised to a certain extent: but all credit, whether given to a bank or to individuals, is a species of false capital, and of course liable to be misapplied; but it is false reasoning to argue against the use of any thing because of its possible abuse.

The objection which stated that the establishing a bank would occasion the specie to disappear, was said to have foundation only in appearance, not in fact; for that at present the intercourse with the United States, which leaves a balance of

trade against Canada, does annually drain the country of a considerable quantity of specie, and this drain can only be remedied by the importation of specie by government, or by individuals; but that a bank could not add to the diminution of specie, and would be the means of transporting property from one country to another, with less danger and difficulty than at present exists.

A bill was then brought into the house: the following are its principal features:

The stock is not to exceed 250,000*l.* currency, unless the government of the province see fit to take an interest therein, in which case it may be 50,000*l.* more. This stock is to consist of shares of 25*l.* each. There are to be 24 directors, who are to choose out of their number a president and vice-president, whereof half are to be for Quebec and half for Montreal, at which cities the two superior branches of the bank are to be held, with a power of erecting offices of deposit and discount in other parts of the Canadas when found adviseable. If government take an interest, they are to appoint two directors. The dividends are to be payable half-yearly. A deposit of 10 per cent. is to be paid down for each share on subscribing, which will be forfeited if the first instalment thereafter of 10 per cent. be not paid in due season. The shares are put at a low rate, that they may be more generally diffused over the province. Fo-

reigners may hold shares, but cannot be directors; they may, however, vote at general meetings by proxy, if the proxy be one of His Majesty's subjects.

The votes are endeavoured to be established on such a scale of proportion as shall exclude an over-bearing preponderance in those who shall hold a large interest in the concern, and yet assure to property therein, that influence which it ought to possess in every well regulated institution. It is proposed that there shall be no other corporate bank in Canada during the continuance of the contemplated one; but there is a power of revocation thereof, under certain limitations and formalities, if found to be hurtful in practice. The stock of the bank may be increased when requisite, and its notes are proposed to be receivable in payment of duties imposed on, or to be imposed by the provincial legislature.

It is doubtful whether the French party in the House of Assembly will coincide with the ideas of the British merchants; the old French paper currency is not yet forgotten, and will naturally prejudice a great many of them against the introduction of a similar medium. The numerous gangs of forgers who infest the boundary line, and counterfeit immense quantities of the United States' paper money; and the innumerable paltry notes for a few cents or half-dollars, which are in circulation all over the Northern States, are cer-

tainly no great inducements to create a similar establishment in Canada, which would most likely give rise to the same evils. In short, it involves considerations of a very serious nature: what may suit Great Britain and the United States may not answer in Canada, and the mischievous effects of a paper medium have already been felt in that province; though it must be allowed that the colony is at present in a better condition for the establishing of a bank than at any former period; the balance of trade upon the aggregate being greatly in its favour. As a secure place of deposit for the people's money, which is now locked up in their chests, it would also be of considerable utility. At all events the *experiment* of the banking system could do very little harm, provided that, in case it was likely to entail upon the community any evils of a momentous nature, it was immediately dropped.

I shall conclude this chapter upon the commerce of Lower Canada, with the tables of imports and exports for the years 1807 and 1808, as received from the custom-houses at Quebec and St. John's. The imports and exports at the custom-house of Quebec are from 1st May to 1st December 1808. Those at St. John's are from the 5th January 1807 to 5th January 1808. I have also subjoined some useful tables respecting the duties on imported goods, post-office regulations, roads and distances, &c.

Imports at Quebec 1807

9 pipes
1 hhd.
1 quarter cask
} Madeira Wine, *a* 40*l.* to 70*l.* per pipe.

228 pipes
16 hhds.
86 casks bottl^{d}.
} Port ditto, 30*l.* to 60*l.* per pipe.

29 pipes Teneriffe, 25*l.* per pipe.

12 butts
54 pipes
39 hhds.
} Spanish ditto, 7*s.* 6*d.* to 10*s.* per gal.

36 casks
1 case
} French prize ditto, 10*s.* per gallon.

3,631 puncheons 100 hhds. Rum, per gallon 5*s.*

71 pieces 16 hhds. Brandy
7 pieces Gin
} *a* 10*s.* per gallon.

82 casks Molasses, 2*s.* 9*d.* per gallon.
252 casks Refined Sugar, at 9*d.* per lb.
367 hhds.
321 tierces and barrels
} Brown ditto at 35*s.* to 45*s.* per cwt.
1,698 lbs. Hyson Tea, at 10*s.*
2,881 lbs. Black and Green ditto, 5*s.* to 5*s.* 6*d.*
669 lbs. Bohea ditto, at 2*s.* 6*d.*
115 hhds. Leaf Tobacco, 151,578lbs. 9*d.* to 1*s.*
1 hhd. Manufactured ditto, 1,145lbs. 21*d.*
4 hhds.
9 tierces
62 barrels
} Coffee, 19,598lbs. at 18*d.*
16,844 packs of playing Cards, 2*s.* per pack.
212,850½ minots of Salt, 1*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.*

N.B. The Importation of manufactured goods from the United Kingdom of Great Britain, Ireland, and the East Indies, in addition to the above, may be estimated, this year, at about 200,000*l.* sterling.

Imports at St. John's 1807, from the United States of North America.

	£	s.	d.
5,952 Bushels Wheat – – at	0	5	6
,506 ditto Indian Corn – –	0	2	9
8 ditto Rye – – –	0	3	0
29 ditto Peas – – –	0	3	4
61 ditto Indian Meal – –	0	3	6
48 ditto Beans – – –	0	3	0
10,450 lbs. Flour – – –	0	0	2
106 barrels ditto – – –	1	15	0
1,060 lbs. Flax – – –	0	0	10
15 lbs. Hemp – – –	0	0	8
726 bushels of American Hemp-seed	0	12	0
360 ditto English Hemp-seed }			
300 lbs. Clover-seed }			
14 lbs. Grass ditto }			
128,600 lbs. Fresh Pork – – –	0	0	4
948 barrels ditto – – –	3	10	0
27 tierces of Sand }			
33,000 Bricks }			
5,150 lbs. Iron – – –	0	0	3
150 pair Mittens } – –	0	1	0
50 ditto Socks }			
1,410 pieces of Nankeen – –	0	5	0
2,180 lbs. Honey – – –	0	1	0
8,070 lbs. Chocolate – –	0	1	4
300 ditto Ginger			

	£	s.	d.
772 lbs. Indigo – – –	0	6	0
252 gallons Lime Juice – –	0	3	6
24 ditto Red Wine – –	0	7	0
756 ditto Foreign Spirits – –	0	5	6
49 lbs. Loaf Sugar – –	0	1	0
1,900 Cane Poles – – –	0	0	6
3,600 lbs. Ham – – –	0	0	7½
3,670 ditto Hog's Lard – –	0	0	9
12,400 ditto Fresh Cod – –	0	0	6
5,509 ditto Butter – – –	0	0	8
37,188 ditto Cheese – – –	0	0	6
200 ditto Tallow – – –	0	0	9
160 ditto Candles – – –	0	1	0
143 Gallons Oil – – –	0	2	6
4,237 pair Men's Shoes – –	0	5	0
617 ditto Women's Shoes – –	0	3	6
48 ditto Boots – – –	1	5	0
384 Calves' Skins – – –	0	4	6
80,428 lbs. Sole Leather – –	0	1	4
477 Saddles – – –	2	0	0
10 pair Boot Legs – –	0	7	6
11,081 Hat Bodies – – –	0	3	0
65 Men's Hats – – –	1	0	0
50 lbs. Sheep's Wool – –	0	2	6
523 ditto Cotton Wool – –	0	2	0

Imports at St. John's, 1807, from the United States of America, continued.

	£	s.	d.
3,969 barrels Pot-ash	6	15	0
4 ditto Pitch	1	10	0
11 ditto Tar	1	5	0
24 ditto Rosin	2	5	0
6,723 lbs. Hops	0	0	10
Merchandise, valued at	32,850	19	11
1,241 lbs. Hyson, 37,732 lbs. Hyson Skin, 832 ditto Souchong, 1,294 ditto Bohea, 61 ditto Singlo	Tea, from 20*d.* to 5*s.* 6*d.* pr. lb.		
51,082 ditto Manufactured Tobacco	0	0	9
120,747 ditto Leaf Tobacco	0	0	6
16,058 ditto Snuff	0	0	9
602 sticks of Logwood	0	1	6
132,780 feet Pine Timber	3*l.* per 1000 feet.		

	£	s.	d.
453,000 feet Oak Timber	0	1	6
186,215 ditto Pine Boards	2*l.* 10*s.* per 1000 feet.		
671,700 ditto ditto Planks	2*l.* 10*s.* per 1000 feet.		
7,000 Oak Boards	1*s.* 3*d.* per foot.		
778 Pine Spars	2*l.* to 3	0	0
20 ditto Masts	10*l.* to 20	0	0
4,545 ditto Butts	10*s.* to 0	15	0
60,000 feet Birch Plank	2*l.* 12*s.* per 1000 feet.		
1,000 ditto Mahogany	0	2	6
1,506 ditto Cherry Boards	1*s.* per foot.		
10,000 Shingles	12*s.* per 1000.		
50,700 Pipe Staves, 16,000 Puncheon ditto, 51,800 Hhd. ditto, 1,500 pieces Heading	20*l.* to 35*l.* per 1000.		

Exports from St. John's, Lower Canada, to the United States, 1807.

	£	s.	d.
13,670 bushels Salt	0	3	6
965 barrels Fish	1	10	0
83 lbs. Tea	0	3	6
277 lbs. Feathers	0	3	0
1,083 gallons Oil	0	3	6
1,856 lbs. Iron	0	0	5

Exports from St. John's, &c., continued.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
15 pair Men's Shoes	0	6	6	143,416 Musk Rat Skins	0	1	4
2 Saddles	2	10	0	41,438 Racoon ditto	0	2	0
150 lbs. Steel	0	0	10	24,356 Martin ditto	0	4	0
56 lbs. Gunpowder	0	3	6	4,014 Bear ditto	1	10	0
170 tierces Fish	1	5	0	5,597 Deer ditto	0	3	9
400 bushels Wheat	0	7	0	1,520 Mink ditto	0	2	0
900 lbs. Magnesia	0	5	0	51,876 Beaver ditto	per lb. 1	0	0
100 ditto Cod-fish	0	0	8	4,023 Wolf ditto	0	7	6
14 barrels Pot-ash	8	0	0	5,615 Otter ditto	1	0	0
96 gallons Rum	0	5	6	927 Fox ditto	0	6	0
116 ditto Red Wine	0	10	0	300 Hare ditto	0	1	6
200 lbs. Brown Sugar	0	0	6	302 Calf ditto	0	3	6
100 lbs. Wool	0	2	6	90 Buffalo Robes	1	5	0
30 empty Barrels	0	5	0	118 Ox Hides	1	0	0
50 lbs. Red Paint	0	2	0	100 Fisher Skins	0	5	0
100 Tippets	1	0	0	30 Elk ditto	0	15	0
24 Belts	0	1	6	2,981 Cat ditto	0	7	6
21 pair Mittens	0	1	0	Merchandise valued at	1,963	9	6

Exports from Quebec.—1808.

			Sterling. £	s.	d.
Wheat	186,708	bushels	0	6	8
Criblings	150	ditto	0	3	0
Peas	52,934	ditto	0	5	0
Oats	2,669	ditto	0	2	0
Barley	5,994	ditto	0	3	4
Indian Corn	3,467	ditto	0	4	0
Hayseed	13,830	ditto	0	6	0
Flour	42,462	barrels	2	7	6
Biscuit	32,587	quintals	1	4	0
Pork	179	tierces	7	0	0
Ditto	732	barrels	5	0	0
Beef	1,509	ditto	3	0	0
Oak Timber	12,372	pieces	3	0	0
Pine ditto	14,510	ditto	1	10	0
Maple and Walnut	188	ditto	2	0	0
Staves and Heading	1,824,861	(per 1200)	40	0	0
Ditto Ends	62,453	per ditto	3	0	0
Boards and planks	194,467	per ditto	5	0	0
Oak Planks	209	each	0	15	0
Handspikes	4,144		0	1	0
Oars	6,723	per pair	0	6	0
Masts	3,994	each	5	8	0
Bowsprits	373				
Yards	6		3	0	0
Spars	1,612		0	15	0
Hoops	215,500	per 1000	6	0	0
Lathwood	130,215	pieces per do	12	10	0
Scantling	2,426	each	0	5	0
Punch. and hhd. packs	1,469	do	0	15	0
Madeira ditto	2,026	do	0	15	0
Cod-fish	2,949	quintals	0	14	0
Salmon	794	tierces	4	0	0

			Sterling. £	s.	d.
Salmon	61	barrels	2	10	0
Herrings	519	ditto	0	12	6
Pickled Fish	83	tierces each	1	10	0
Ditto	518	bbls.	1	0	0
Lard	50	ditto	5	6	0
Ditto	393	kegs	2	0	0
Butter	2,660	do. and firkins	2	0	0
Soap	1,142	boxes	1	12	0
Tallow	1	keg	1	0	0
Candles	886	boxes	2	15	0
Pickled Tongues	45	kegs	1	10	0
Rounds Beef	7	puncheons	12	17	0
Ditto	83	bbls.	4	0	0
Ditto	39	kegs	1	0	0
Hams	14	tierces	15	0	0
Ditto	107	pieces	0	10	0
Oxen	26	each	5	0	0
Horses	60		15	0	0
Calves	4		0	10	0
Sheep	213		0	15	0
Turkeys	118		0	2	6
Essence of Spruce	150	casks	5	0	0
Iron Stoves	127		4	0	0
Shingles	60,500	per 1000	0	10	0
Ox Horns	6,485		0	0	1
Apples	396	bbls.	1	0	0
Onions	83	ditto	1	0	0
Wool	8	bales	10	0	0
Hemp	4,719	lbs.	0	0	4
Ditto Seed	8	bbls.	0	10	0
Oil	9,260	gallons	0	2	0
Hops	1,319	lbs.	0	2	0
Mats	143		0	0	6
Birch	30	boards	0	5	0
Castor Oil	2	cases	3	0	0
Castoreum	9	kegs	0	5	0
Capillaire	17	puncheons	0	0	0
Ditto	9	casks			
Malt	9,263	bushels	0	5	0
Pot- and pearl-ashes	107,652	cwt. 0 qrs. 7 lb.	2	15	0
	30,838	barrels	per cwt.		
New Ships	3,750	tons	10	0	0
Beer	29	hhds.	4	0	0
Ditto	300	bbls.	0	7	6

FURS.		Sterling. £	s.	d.
Beaver - -	126,927	0	18	9
Martin - -	9,530	0	3	4
Otters - -	7,230	1	0	0
Mink - -	9,108	0	2	0
Fishers - -	3,866	0	4	0
Foxes - -	1,038	0	5	0
Bears and cubs -	1,298	1	5	0
Deer - -	103,875	0	3	4
Cased and open Cat	5,718	0	3	4
Racoons - -	123,307	0	2	0
Musk Cats -	6,513	0	1	6
Wolf - -	18	0	7	6
Elk - -	662	0	15	0
Woolvereens -	39	0	5	0
Seals - -	10	0	4	0
Buffalo - -	1	1	0	0

334 Vessels cleared at the Custom-house.
70,275 Tons.
3,330 Men.

The Exports from Labrador, Gaspé, and Chaleur Bay, consist of Cod-fish, Salmon, Herrings, and other pickled Fish, besides Lumber, Oil, &c. the whole amounting to upwards of 130,000*l.* sterling. The Exports from Quebec in 1811 amounted to 974,798*l.*, the Imports 962,250*l.*; above the half of which were goods not dutiable.

Tonnage, &c. of Shipping trading to Canada, in

	Ships.	Tons.	Men.
1806	193	33,996	1,603
1807	239	42,295	2,039
1808	334	70,275	3,330
1809	434	87,825	
1811	557	118,899	5,653

Duties on Imports.

1808.

Duties payable in Lower Canada, on Imports, under several Acts of the British Parliament.

		Sterling. £	s.	d.
6 Geo. II. c. 13.	Foreign Sugars, per cwt. –	0	5	0
4 Geo. III. c. 15.	Ditto, white or clayed, per cwt.	1	2	0
	Foreign Indigo, per lb. –	0	0	6
	Ditto Coffee, per cwt. – –	2	19	9
	Madeira, Fayal, Teneriffe } Wines, per tun –	7	0	0
	Portugal, Spanish, & other Wines from Great Britain, per tun }	0	10	0
6 Geo. III. c. 35.	British Plantation coffee, per cwt.	0	7	0
	Molasses, per gallon – –	0	0	1
	British Pimento, per lb. –	0	0	0½
14 Geo. III. c. 88.	Brandy, or other spirits, manufactured in Britain, per gallon }	0	0	3
	Rum, or other spirits, imported from the West Indies, per ditto }	0	0	6
	Ditto from Colonies in America	0	0	9
	Brandy, or other foreign spirits, imported from Britain – }	0	1	0
	Rum, or Spirit, the produce of Colonies in America, not under the dominion of His Majesty, imported from any other place than Great Britain – }	0	1	0
	Molasses, in British bottoms –	0	0	3
	Ditto, in any other – –	0	0	6

Additional Duties laid on by the Provincial Parliament. Acts 33 Geo. III. cap. 8.—35 Geo. III. c. 9.—and 41 Geo. III. c. 14.

	Sterling. £	s.	d.
Foreign Brandy, or other foreign spirits, per gallon	0	0	3
Rum, per gallon	0	0	3
Molasses and syrups, per gallon	0	0	3
Madeira Wine, by one act 4*d.* and by another 2*d.*	0	0	6
Other wines, by one act 2*d.* by another 1*d.*	0	0	3
Loaf or Lump Sugar, per lb.	0	0	1
Muscovado or Clayed Sugar, per lb.	0	0	0½
Coffee, per lb.	0	0	2
Leaf Tobacco, per lb.	0	0	2
Playing Cards, per pack	0	0	4
Salt, per minot	0	0	4
Snuff, per lb.	0	0	4
Tobacco manufactured in any other way	0	0	3

Duties imposed by a Provincial Act, for building Gaols, to continue six Years from the 25th March 1805.

Bohea Tea, per lb.	0	0	2
Souchong, black, per ditto	0	0	4
Hyson	0	0	6
Green Teas	0	0	4
Spirits, or other strong liquors, per gallon	0	0	3
Wines	0	0	3
Molasses and Syrups	0	0	2

Allowances at the Custom-house.

Deduction of Weight.

On Coffee, in bales or bags, 3 lbs. for every cwt.
in casks, 12 lbs. per ditto.
Loaf Sugar, in casks or boxes, 15 lbs. per cwt.
Leaf tobacco, in casks, 12 lbs. per cwt.
Leakage on Wines, Spirits, and Molasses, 3 gallons on every hundred.
For waste of articles, subject to duty by weight, an allowance of three pounds on every hundred pounds.
On Salt, an allowance of 3 minots per hundred.

The import duty on Salt is 4*d.* per minot. Salt landed below the east bank of the river Saguenay, on the north side of the St. Lawrence, and below the east bank of the river Grand Mitis, on the south side, is not subject to duty. There shall be drawn back, at the Custom-house, 4*d.* on every bushel of Salt exported from the port of Quebec, to any place beyond the above limits; 7*d.* on every tierce of Salmon; and 4*d.* on every barrel of salted Beef or Pork, or salted Fish of any sort exported from this province.

Goods sold at auction are subject to a duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

The *minot* is about 8 per cent. larger than the Winchester bushel.

The par of exchange is 111*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.* currency, for 100*l.* sterling, or dollar at 5*s.*

Current-exchange for bills on London at 60 days sight, 4 per cent. discount, 7th Sept. 1808.

10 per cent. is added to all bills drawn in Canada on foreign places, and returned dishonoured: this with the *charges* makes an increase of 20 or 25 per cent. on all *protested bills.*

Post-Office Regulations.

At the beginning of every month a packet sails from Falmouth for North America, having on board a mail for Quebec.

In the summer months she puts in at Halifax, on her way to New York, and there delivers the mail for Canada. From Halifax it is forwarded by land to Quebec. In the months of November, December, January, and February, the packets pass Halifax, and deliver the mails for Canada to the Agent for British packets at New York, who forwards them through the United States by post to Montreal.

A mail for England is dispatched from Quebec once every fortnight in summer, and once a month in winter, to be sent by the first packet for England.

A mail for Burlington, in the United States, is made up at Quebec every Thursday, and at Montreal every Saturday, by which conveyance letters may be sent for Europe, under cover, to a friend at New York, on paying the Canadian postage. The post for Montreal leaves Quebec every Monday and Thursday, and leaves Montreal for Quebec on the same days. The post arrives at these places on Wednesdays and Saturdays. A monthly communication, by post, between Lower and Upper Canada, has been lately opened.

List of Governors of Canada, from the Conquest, with the Date of their Appointments.

James Murray, 21st November – – –	1763
P. M. Irvine, President, 30th June – –	1766
Guy Carleton, Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief, 24th September – – – –	1766
Ditto, 26th October – – – –	1768
H. T. Cramahé, President, 9th August – –	1770
Guy Carleton, 11th October – – –	1774
F. Haldiman – – – – –	1778
H. Hamilton, Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief – – – – –	1784
H. Hope, Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief – – – – –	1785
Lord Dorchester, Governor General – –	1786
A. Clarke, Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief – – – – –	1791

Lord Dorchester, 24th September – –	1793
Robert Prescott – – – –	1796
Sir Robert Milnes, Lieutenant Governor – –	1799
Thomas Dunn, President, and superseded by Sir James Craig, Governor and Captain General – –	1807
Sir George Prevost, bart., Capt.-Gen. and Governor	1811

List of the Counties in Lower Canada—the Number of Representatives in the Provincial Assembly—and the Number of Parishes.

	Parishes.	Members.
Gaspé – – – –	0	1
Cornwallis – – –	11	2
Devon – – –	6	2
Hertford – – –	7	2
Dorchester – – –	4	2
Buckinghamshire – –	12	2
Richelieu – – –	7	2
And for the town of Sorel, in ditto		1
Bedford – – –	1	1
Surrey – – –	5	2
Kent – – – –	4	2
Huntingdon – – –	7	2
York – – – –	5	2
Montreal – – –	9 { for town 4, county 2 }	
Effingham – – –	3	2
Leinster – – –	8	2
Warwick – – –	4	2
St. Maurice – – –	9 { county 2, Three Rivers 2 }	
Hampshire – – –	7	2
Quebec – – –	5 { county 2, town 4 }	
Northumberland – –	1	2
Orleans – – –		1
		50

Roads and Distances in Canada.

From Quebec to Halifax.

	Miles.
From Quebec to Point Levi, cross the river –	1
Thence to the Portage at Riviere du Cap –	121½
Thence to Timiskuata – – –	36
Thence to the settlement of Maduaska –	45
Thence to the great Falls in river St. John –	45
Thence to Frederick Town – – –	180
Thence to St. John's – – –	90
Thence to Halifax – – –	189½
	708

From Quebec to Michillimakinak, at the Entrance of Lake Huron.

To Montreal – – – –	184
To Coteau du Lac – – –	225
To Cornwall – – – –	266
To Matilda – – – –	301
To Augusta – – – –	335
To Kingston – – – –	385
To Niagara – – – –	525
To Fort Erie – – – –	560
To Detroit – – – –	790
To Michillimakinak – – –	1107

From Quebec to New York, by way of Montreal.

To Cape Rouge – – – –	9
To St. Augustin – – – –	9
To Jacques Cartier – – –	15
To St. Anne's – – – –	30
To Three Rivers – – –	22
Carried over	85

	Miles.	
Brought over		85
To Riviere du Loup – – –	27	
To Berthier – – – –	22	
To Repentigné – – – –	32	
To Montreal – – – –	18	
	——	99
To Laprairie – – – –	9	
To St. John's – – – –	14	
To Isle au Noix – – – –	14	
To Windmill Point – – –	12	
To Savage's Point – – –	6	
To Sandbar – – – –	20	
To Burlington, the first post town in the States	14	
	——	89
To Skenesborough – – –	78	
To Fort Anne, south side of the Hudson –	12	
To Dumont Ferry, ditto, ditto –	24	
To Waterford, ditto, ditto –	24	
To Albany City, ditto, ditto –	12	
	——	150
To Hudson City, north of the Hudson –	34	
To Rhinebeck – – – –	31	
To Poughkeepsie – – –	17	
To Peckskill – – – –	34	
To Kingsbridge – – – –	34	
To New York – – – –	15	—165
		588

The expense of travelling post in Lower Canada is 1*s.* currency per league.

The American packets on Lake Champlain charge from three to four dollars for the passage from St. John's to Skenesborough, a distance of nearly 160 miles.

From Skenesborough the traveller proceeds to New York, in a waggon or stage, at the rate of 3*d.* sterling per mile.

CHAPTER XIV.

Society of the Towns in Lower Canada—Different Classes of Society—Education—Investigation of the Causes of mental Disability—Defects of Education of the original Settlers—Degrading Policy of the French Government—State of the People before the Conquest—Levity of the Canadians—Extravagance and Dissipation—Ignorance of the British Settlers—Change of Manners after the Conquest—The Ledger and Waste Book preferred to splendid Entertainments—Rising Importance of the British Merchants—Degradation of the French Noblesse—Female Boarding-Schools—Boarding-School Misses—Manners of the French Canadian Ladies in 1749, *and in* 1808—*Anecdote of Mademoiselle ———— —Morals of Canadian Society—Female Servants—Scandal—North-west Merchants.*

THE towns of Quebec and Montreal, including their suburbs, are said to contain about 12,000 inhabitants each, nearly three-fourths of whom are French. In speaking of the society of Lower Canada, I shall confine my remarks chiefly to the city of Quebec, which, as it is the capital, and

the manners of its inhabitants are in every respect similar to those of Montreal, will serve as a general view of society among the higher orders throughout the country.

The British inhabitants of Quebec consist of the government people; the military; a few persons belonging to the church, the law, and medicine; the merchants, and shopkeepers.

The French comprise the old noblesse and seigniors, most of whom are members of the government; the clergy; the advocates and notaries; the storekeepers.

These different classes form *three* distinct divisions of society, which contrive to keep at a respectful distance from each other. The *first* is composed of the highest orders next to the governor, comprehending the members of the government; the honourable professions; and a few of the principal merchants. These are admitted to the chateau.

The *second* division is composed of the inferior merchants, the shopkeepers and traders; together with the subordinate officers of the government, the army, the law, and the church; the practitioners in medicine, and other British inhabitants.

The *third* division consists of the French inhabitants, most of whom, except the few who are members of the government, associate almost entirely together, unless that a public entertainment,

or the annual assemblies, bring some of them into company with the British.

A very small proportion of the British Canadians were born in the colony, and consequently very little difference in person, dress, or manners, is discernible between them and the inhabitants of the mother-country. The French have also assimilated themselves so nearly to the British in dress, manners, and amusements, especially the younger branches, that, if it was not for their language, there would be little to distinguish their respective coteries.

The *creoles* * of Canada, both French and English, who inhabit the towns, are generally of a middle stature, rather slender than robust, and very rarely possess the blooming and ruddy complexion of the British; a pale, sallow, or swarthy countenance characterizes the natives of Canada, and, with few exceptions, the whole of the American continent. It is rather singular, that a foggy atmosphere should be conducive to that bloom of health which glows on the cheek of a British islander; yet the fact is corroborated by the appearance of the inhabitants of New-

* By *creoles*, I mean the descendants of Europeans, born in Canada, in contradistinction to *natives* of Europe, who may be settled there; and not (as many persons imagine) the offspring of black and white people, who are properly called *people of colour*, or *mulattoes*.

foundland, of the shores of Nova Scotia and the New England states; who, enveloped in fogs more than one-half the year, enjoy the same ruddy complexion as the English; while those who live in the interior, under a clear sky, are universally distinguished by sallow or swarthy complexions. Lower Canada cannot boast of much superlative beauty among its females; but there are many who possess very pleasing and interesting countenances. Montreal is allowed to have the advantage over the other towns for female beauty; but I have seen two or three at Quebec and Three Rivers, who surpassed any that I met with in the former city. The country girls, who are nearly all French, (with the exception of those who reside in the back townships,) are pretty when very young, but from hard work and exposure to the sun they grow up coarse-featured and swarthy, and have all the sturdiness but none of the beauty of our Welch girls.

Upon the whole, if the generality of the Canadian females are not remarkable for beautiful faces or elegant figures, there is nothing in either that can offend, and both are certainly as good as the men are entitled to.

Education having a natural influence upon the moral and social character of a people, it is greatly to be regretted that so little attention is

paid to it by the Canadians. I have before noticed the great ignorance or rather illiterateness of the Habitans or country people, and I am sorry that I cannot say much in favour of their superiors who live in the towns, though possessing the advantages of public seminaries and private schools.

The Canadians are generally accused of preferring to live in ignorance rather than pay for knowledge: this accusation, however, I do not think will apply to the Canadian gentry. A certain levity of disposition, and false indulgence of their children, are rather to be ascribed as the cause of that paucity of learning and accomplished education, which exists among the higher classes of the people. The public seminaries and private schools are certainly deficient in all the superior branches of education, yet they are capable of affording a moderate share of learning to those who have any moderate share of genius or ability.

To investigate the physical cause of mental disability, which has heretofore distinguished, and at present distinguishes, the creoles of Canada, it will be necessary to trace its origin from the first settlement of the country. The first adventurers who took up their abode in Canada, were more gifted with romantic genius and a wandering disposition, than a taste for learning, or the

steady habits of domestic life. The soldiery who at various periods settled in the country, did not increase the general stock of knowledge, and the officers and noblesse were too idle and dissipated to extend to their children the learning which they themselves might possess; and the seminaries at that period were too poor and imperfect, to render much service to the rising generation.

The clergy were the only people who could be said to possess any competent share of knowledge and learning; and among this order of men the Jesuits were most conspicuous. Their information, however, was confined to their own body, for they possessed a selfish pride and covetousness, which impelled them to aggrandize themselves by keeping the other classes of the community in ignorance. This, indeed, was the policy of the Roman Catholic system; it was the policy also of the despotic government under which they lived. Little benefit, therefore, could accrue to the people from the learning and information of their priests; and their own levity or prodigality, their poverty, or parsimony, prevented them from profiting by the few opportunities that presented themselves for the education of their children: hence they involuntarily aided the despotic views of their priests and their government, whose interest was to keep them in ignorance and subjection.

The manners of the Canadians in the most flourishing periods of the French government are represented to have been by no means favourable to literature and the arts, or to the promotion of knowledge among the rising generation. Those who lived in the country are said to have spent the greater part of the winter in idleness, thoughtlessly sitting by the fire; and when the return of spring called them out to the indispensable labours of the field, they ploughed the ground superficially, without manuring it, sowed it carelessly, and then relapsed into their former indolent course of life till the approach of harvest. Even then, as the common people were too proud or too lazy to work by the day, and every family was obliged to gather in its own crops, nothing was to be seen of that sprightly joy which enlivens the reaping season in Europe: this languor and negligence might be owing to several causes. During the excessive cold, which by freezing up the rivers prevented all the exertions of industry, and produced a winter of near seven months, they contracted such a habit of idleness, that labour appeared insurmountable to them even in the finest weather; and this indolence was increased by the numerous festivals prescribed by their religion, which flattered a disposition to which they were themselves but too much inclined.

The inhabitants of the towns, especially those of the capital, spent the winter as well as the summer in a perpetual round of dissipation. They were alike insensible to the beauties of nature and to the pleasures of imagination: they had no taste for arts and sciences, reading, or instruction; their only passion was amusement; and persons of all ages and sexes were seized with the rage of dancing at assemblies. This mode of life naturally increased the influence of the women, who possessed every attraction except those gentle graces, those soft emotions of the soul, which alone constitute the chief merit and the ineffable charm of beauty. Lively, gay, coquettish, and addicted to gallantry, they were more fond of inspiring than capable of feeling the tender passions. In both sexes there appeared a greater share of devotion than virtue, more religion than probity, and a higher sense of honour than of real honesty. Giddiness took place of rational amusement, and superstition of morality; which will always be the case where men are taught that ceremonies will compensate for good works, and that crimes may be expiated by money and prayers.

The extravagance and dissipation which thus reigned throughout society, previous to the conquest of the country, while they obstructed the agriculture and commerce of the colony, tended

also to check the progress of learning and the arts. The education of their children was neglected, and, with but few exceptions, ignorance and illiterateness characterized the whole community; their deficiencies are noticed by General Murray, in his letter soon after the conquest. "They are very ignorant (says the General): it was the policy of the French government to keep them so. Printing was never permitted in Canada till we got possession of it, and few or none can read."

The British settlers who at this period established themselves in the province were so few, and withal so mean, both in birth and education, that little or no improvement could be expected from them: even the civil officers who were sent out to administer the government, were illiterate and dissipated characters; they were ignorant of the language of those whom they were sent to govern; and as they had obtained their places by purchase from those who possessed the patents, they had no other object in view but to accumulate a fortune, which could be done only by rapacity and extortion.

The immoral conduct of these men, the natural levity and dissipation of the military, as well as the inhabitants themselves, could not fail to have a baneful influence upon the morals and manners of society in Canada. The injurious effects were

experienced for years after, and are not eradicated even at the present day.

It was a considerable time before agriculture and commerce began to improve; of course knowledge and learning made a still slower progress; nor did they quicken their pace, even when the credit and prosperity of the colony were established upon a respectable footing, and were productive of riches and affluence to the colonists beyond the precedent of any former period. It might naturally have been expected, that the arts and sciences would have flourished as the prosperity of the country increased: but this does not appear to have been the case; for trade and commerce, instead of illuminating the minds of their followers, begat in them only a sordid spirit of gain. With the augmentation of the British colonists, and the diminution of the old French nobility and gentry, much of that polite gaiety of manners, and that social dissipation which before characterized the society of the towns, gave place to the more steady, plodding, and uncouth habits of business. The merchants and traders were more amused in consulting their waste book and ledger, than in figuring away at a splendid entertainment. Their whole happiness was centred in acquiring riches; and their children, who were to follow in the same path, received no more education than was necessary

to qualify them for the attainment of that object.

As agriculture and commerce have increased, the British settlers have risen into consequence, and men of respectability been sent over to govern the country. The French inhabitants have however degenerated in proportion as the British have acquired importance. The noblesse and seigniors have almost dwindled into the common mass of the vulgar; their estates and seigniories have been divided among their children, or have fallen into the hands of the opulent British merchants. The few who still possess an estate or seigniory seldom live upon it, but reside wholly in the towns, equally averse from agriculture, commerce, and the arts. They visit their estates merely to pick up their rents; and in collecting these, they often have many broils with their tenants, whose contributions in *kind* are not always of the best quality; and so far do they sometimes carry their contempt of their seignior, that the latter has frequently been obliged to throw the corn and the poultry at their heads. These little frays, however, arise oftener from the irritability of the seignior's temper than from the insolence of the tenant.

I have before mentioned, that the education given by the British inhabitants to their children is no more than is necessary for mercantile affairs.

A few are bred up to the law, and are sometimes sent home to England for education in that important branch of the government. Some of the young Frenchmen have been educated at our public schools, but on their return to Canada they soon forgot their knowledge and erudition.

The French inhabitants send their boys to the French seminary, where there is just sufficient taught to make a priest, a clerk, an advocate, or a notary. These professions, however, must not be understood as requiring the same quantum of knowledge and learning as they do in England. A much smaller share of either will suffice for Canadian practice. As to the rest of the Canadian people, it is said that not more than five in a parish can read or write: I cannot vouch for the accuracy of this assertion, but I should think it cannot be far from the truth, when it is known that some of the *members of the provincial parliament* are deficient in those necessary qualifications.

Such are the defects in the education of youth in Canada, though there are hopes that information, however slow, is daily gaining ground. Several new schools have within these few years been opened at Quebec, Montreal, and Three Rivers; and there is a seminary at Montreal dignified by the name of College, where Latin, French, English, and the common rudiments of

learning are taught to upwards of two hundred boys. Though the inferior parts of education only are attended to in these establishments, yet they are perhaps sufficient for all the purposes of agriculture and commerce, which in the present state of the colony are of more immediate utility than the arts and sciences. The plough and the desk will in time introduce the inhabitants to the study of nature, and the cultivation of the mind.

The French send their daughters to the nunneries, where reading, embroidery, and superstition are taught at a trifling expense. The British inhabitants send their children to boarding-schools which have lately been established in the two principal towns; but whether their mental and moral faculties have been improved in proportion, is a question difficult to determine. The schools which have been opened in Canada are upon the style of many of our female boarding-schools in the vicinity of London, where more attention is paid by the governesses to notoriety and fashion, than to the improvement of their pupils. A gentleman of my acquaintance sent two of his daughters, the eldest not twelve years old, to one of these boarding-schools at Quebec: when the young ladies went home at the vacation, instead of their needles or books, their whole conversation ran upon the officers of the army;

" what handsome young men they were, and the charming things that captain or lieutenant such-a-one said to Miss so-and-so." Their parents were confounded, and inquired how they came to be acquainted with so many officers? " Why, papa, they used to come and dance with us every week, when the dancing-master came; it was so delightful, for you cannot think how charmingly they dance; and they are so handsome too!" The gentleman never sent his daughters to school again, but procured a person to educate them at home, as the only means of preserving their morals from contamination.

The education of females in Canada is slight and superficial; more attention is paid to external ornament than to internal improvement; and the mistaken indulgence of their parents tends very much to increase the general levity and frivolity which prevail among the Canadian ladies. The presence also of so many military officers, who have very little other employment than to flirt and toy with the women, flatters the vanity of the young ladies, and renders them very amiable coquettes, but often very indifferent wives.

> "The thoughtless sex is caught by outward form
> And empty noise, and loves itself in man."

It may be amusing to compare the manners of the Canadian females at the present day, with

the account given of them by Professor Kalm sixty years ago, while under the French government.

" The ladies in Canada," says the Professor, " are generally of two kinds; some come over from France, the rest are natives. The former possess the politeness peculiar to the French nation; the latter may be divided into those of Quebec and Montreal. The first of these are equal to the French ladies in good breeding, having the advantage of frequently conversing with the French gentlemen and ladies who come every summer with the king's ships, and stay several weeks at Quebec, but seldom go to Montreal. The ladies of this last place are accused by the French of partaking too much of the pride of the Indians, and of being much wanting in French good-breeding. What I have mentioned above, of their dressing their head too assiduously, is the case with all the ladies throughout Canada. They dress out very fine on Sundays; and though on other days they do not take much pains with other parts of their dress, yet they are very fond of adorning their heads, the hair of which is always curled and powdered, and ornamented with glittering bodkins and aigrettes.

" On those days when they pay or receive visits, they dress so gaily, that one is almost induced to think their parents possessed the greatest dignities in the state. The Frenchmen who considered things in their true light, complained very much that a great part of the ladies in Canada had got into the pernicious custom of taking too much care of their dress, and squandering all their fortunes, and more, upon it, instead of sparing something for future times. They are no less attentive to have the newest fashions, and they laugh at each other's fancy: but what they get as new fashions, are grown old and laid aside in France; for the ships coming but once every year from thence, the people of Canada consider that as the new fashion for the whole year, which the people on board brought with them, or which they imposed on them as new.

" The ladies of Canada, and especially at Montreal, are very ready to laugh at any blunders strangers make in speaking. In Canada nobody ever hears the French language spoken by any but Frenchmen ; for strangers seldom come hither, and the Indians are naturally too proud to learn French, but oblige the French to learn their language. From hence it naturally follows, that the nice Canada ladies cannot hear any thing uncommon without laughing at it. One of the first questions they propose to a stranger is, whether he is married ; the next, how he likes the ladies of the country ; and the third, whether he will take one home with him ?

" There is some difference between the ladies of Quebec and those of Montreal ; those of the last place seem to be handsomer than those of the former. Their behaviour, likewise, seemed to me to be something too free at Quebec, and of a more becoming modesty at Montreal. The ladies of Quebec, especially the unmarried ones, are not very industrious. A girl of *eighteen* is reckoned poorly off if she cannot enumerate at least *twenty lovers*. These young ladies, especially those of a higher rank, get up at *seven,* and dress till *nine,* drinking their coffee at the same time. When they are dressed, they place themselves near a window that opens into the street, take up some needle-work, and sew a stitch now and then, but turn their eyes into the street most of the time. When a young fellow comes in, whether they are acquainted with him or not, they immediately lay aside their work, sit down by him, and begin to chat, laugh, joke, and invent *doubles entendres ;* and this is reckoned being very *witty.* In this manner they frequently pass the whole day, leaving their mothers to do all the business of the house.

" In Montreal the girls are not quite so volatile, but more industrious. They are always at their needle-work, or doing some useful business in the house. They are likewise cheerful and content ; nobody can say that they want either wit or charms. They are apt to think too well of themselves. However, the daughters of people of all ranks, without exception, go to market and carry home what they have bought. They rise as soon, and

go to bed as late as any people in the house. I have been assured that in general their fortunes are not considerable, which are rendered still more scanty by the number of children, and the small revenues of a house. The girls at Montreal are very much displeased that those of Quebec get husbands sooner than they. The reason of this is, that many young gentlemen who come over from France with the ships are captivated by the ladies at Quebec, and marry them; but as these gentlemen seldom go up to Montreal, the girls there are not often so happy as those of the former place."

The professor has been very severe in some of his remarks upon the Canadian ladies; but I have every reason to believe they are just. The alteration which has taken place since that period, has arisen from the settling of so many of the British people in the colony. The manners of the English females are more reserved than those of the French, and they have consequently introduced some of that gravity into society. The French girls, however, continue nearly the same as described by Kalm. Many of them dress beyond what their situation in life demands, or the pocket of their parents can afford. Some will also flirt, joke, and laugh at doubles entendres with a very good grace, and, if you offend them, will not be very choice in the epithets they bestow upon you. They are also as fond of displaying themselves at the window as ever; and, to my knowledge, this mode of attraction has proved successful in one instance. While I remained at Quebec, I noticed, in walking from the Lower to

the Upper Town, a young French mademoiselle sitting at the window of a house near Breakneck stairs, affecting to work, but evidently sitting there for the purpose of drawing upon her the gaze of the passers-by. She possessed a pretty but inexpressive countenance, which she heightened by a considerable quantity of rouge; and her dress was more calculated for the ball-room than for a morning chamber. I had gazed for several months upon this pretty figure, in my peregrinations up Mountain-street, when all at once I missed her; and it was not till my return from the United States the following year that I heard she had won the heart of a youth from Prince Edward's Island, who accidentally passing the window where she exhibited her charms, was so struck (I suppose with her beauty) that he married her in less than a week after, though previous to that he had been a perfect stranger to her.

Many of the British females are not exempt from the weakness and volatility ascribed to the French fair. There are, however, several young ladies, French as well as English, who possess superior accomplishments, and better cultivated minds, than the generality of their sex in the colony.

There is nothing to boast of in the morals of the higher classes of the people in Canada. The little blackening accounts of scandal are sought

for, promulgated, and listened to with avidity; while good actions are often mangled, distorted, and heard with secret envy. Those most guilty of calumny are themselves most deserving of the condemnation they pass upon others. The female parties compose a school for scandal; and, as a French gentleman once observed of the ladies of New Orleans, they would be much better employed in household affairs than in slandering the absent, and even each other when they have separated.

For a small society like that of Canada, the numbers of unfaithful wives, kept mistresses, and girls of easy virtue, exceed in proportion those of the old country; and it is supposed that in the towns more children are born *illegitimately* than in wedlock. The frequent infidelity of wives and husbands creates much animosity and discord in some of the higher circles of Canadian society; and the ladies often run to each other's houses to inquire the truth of the scandalous reports that fly about. Their passions have been roused, mutual recriminations have taken place, and it is known that they have sometimes proceeded to blows. Trials for *crim. con.* are, however, unknown; neither are duels ever resorted to by the Canadian gentry to avenge their injured honour. The husbands generally wink at the frailties of their wives, and either content them-

selves with increasing the number of their *horned* brethren, or fly for comfort into the arms of a *fille de chambre.*

The female servants follow the example of their mistresses, and very few can be found who are free from the fashionable vices of the age. Attendance is, therefore, bad in proportion as the difficulty of procuring good servants is increased. Their wages are from 12 to 20*l.* per annum; but their abilities do not deserve a fourth part of the sum: they seldom stay in a place above a month, and are never engaged for a longer period. A servant that remains in her place four or five months is considered as a pattern of excellence. The character of a servant, which in London is always strictly investigated before the person is hired, is never considered of any consequence in Canada; no inquiries are made by the gentry as to the honesty, sobriety or virtue of the servants they take into their houses; and the consequence is, that those good qualities are very rare among that class of people. The female servants are for the most part ignorant French country girls, or the wives of the soldiers who arrive in the country: they soon get corrupted by the dissolute manners prevalent among the lower classes of Europeans in the town; nor have they very often a better example even from the higher orders. The ladies of Canada are not celebrated for possessing much of

that domestic knowledge which constitutes the comfort and happiness of families in England. What the servants are ignorant of their mistresses can seldom supply; so that the order and œconomy of the English table are very rarely to be seen in that country.

The society of the towns in Canada has been represented by some writers as so extremely gay, lively, and agreeable, and possessing such friendly unanimity and generous hospitality, that a stranger might fancy the inhabitants formed only one large family. I am sorry that it is not in my power to furnish a similar representation. At the period when I visited Canada, its society was split into parties: scandal was the order of the day; and calumny, misrepresentation, and envy, seemed to have erected their standards among the greater portion of the inhabitants. The weekly papers teemed with abusive scurrility and malicious insinuations; and all that gaiety and happiness which I had been led to expect in Canada, seemed either to have totally deserted the country, or to have existed only in the imaginations of former writers. It is true, I afterwards met with individuals whose amiable character and private virtues would do honour to any society; but the general character and disposition of the people very ill accorded with the flattering accounts which had been given

of them. In short, the same jealousy, pride, and party feuds exist in the society of the towns in Canada to which all small communities are liable. They are engendered by the knowledge of each other's origin and private history. Those who cannot trace their genealogy beyond a *private soldier* or a *sutler* in the army which conquered the country, are of course treated with contemptuous pride by others, who can boast of a long line of ancestors that sprung, perhaps, from the illegitimate offspring of some nobleman's *valet de chambre* or *cast-off mistress.* No great cordiality can be expected to exist between such opposite and heterogeneous materials, especially in a small community, where full scope is given to the operation of petty competition and private malignity. In a large metropolis these contentions could not be felt, they would be lost in the crowd; but in a small town, where every one knows his neighbour, and *generously* interests himself in his concerns, they act like the fire of a volcano, which at one time convulses the surrounding neighbourhood, and at another time preys upon its own vitals.

The increase of agriculture and commerce has caused several families to rise from poverty and obscurity into opulence and notoriety; and the standard of individual merit in Canada is too often

a man's riches or his rank: virtue and talents obtain but little respect. The large fortunes acquired by some of the merchants have tended to raise the envy of many who would wish, but have not the means, to emulate them in their style of living. The North-west merchants, particularly, have been subjected to the jealous and malignant observations even of those who have partaken of their hospitality; who have drunk their wine and smiled in their face: but I never could discover that these gentlemen possessed any other fault than spending freely what they had earned laboriously. One of them, who resides at Quebec, is often the butt of the *friends* that dine at his table: yet he is one that has returned from the Upper country with a broken constitution, and surely has a right to enjoy the property which he has gained by so great a sacrifice, in whatever way is agreeable to his taste. But his *friends* tax him with pride, ostentation, and extravagance, because he is fond of giving *them* good dinners, and because he keeps two or three horses; entertains the officers of the army often at his house, and receives those of the navy with hospitality whenever they arrive at Quebec. It is, to be sure, too much the custom among the fashionables of Canada to consider a stranger newly arrived as an object of curiosity and wonder, as a being whom

they have a right to appropriate in their own manner. 'They survey him from head to foot, compliment, feast, and caress him; but when the novelty of the thing has subsided, he is, however rare and transcendent his merit, a mere nonentity, unless his opulence excites in them an interested deference.'

CHAPTER XV.

Amusements and Diversions—Quebec Assembly—Bal de Société—Private Tea and Card Parties—Routs at the Chateau—The Theatre—Present State of Canadian Theatricals—Drunken Performers—Arrival of a Company from Boston—Concerts—Freemasons' Lodges—The Duke of Kent—Barons' Club—Grand Entertainment on the Installation of the Knights—Canadian Bond-street—Billiards—Carioling—Dress of the Ladies and Gentlemen—Officers of the Army in Tippets—Mutations of Fashion—Retrospect of British Fashions—Pyramidal Head-dresses—Old and New Fashions compared—Long-toed Shoes, prohibited under pain of Cursing by the Clergy—Tapering Waists—Races—Mode of Kissing on New Year's Day—Doors—Stoves—Boarding-Houses.

The natural gaiety and sprightliness of manners peculiar to the French people, no doubt gave rise to the fascinating accounts which have been given of society in Canada. The long winters were particularly favourable to dancing, an amusement of which the French are passionately

fond; and, till within these few years, parties used to meet at each other's houses, or at some convenient place a few miles out of town, for the purpose of enjoying that rational amusement.

At those periods when the inhabitants were more upon a par in point of property, I have no doubt but there was more real friendship and sociability than at the present day, when riches and luxury have created greater distinctions in society. The French, in whatever station they may be, possess a certain affability and easy politeness of manners, that can readily unbend the *pride of ancestry;* but the natural reserve of the British is by no means calculated to unbend the *pride of opulence.* While the latter were accumulating riches, the former were falling to decay, and at length were deprived of the means of maintaining their usual appearance. Hence the sociable little dances and entertainments which formerly kept the inhabitants in continual motion during a long and tedious winter, and made the town resemble one large family, are now dwindled down to one solitary, formal assembly; and even the unanimity of that is often disturbed by the arrogance of some and the jealousy of others.

The assembly at Quebec is kept at the Union Hotel, on the Parade. There are about six dances in the course of the season, for which the subscribers pay eight dollars. A few of the in-

ferior merchants and storekeepers are admitted to this assembly as a very great *favour;* but none of them are noticed by the *fashionables*, and indeed some of the latter refuse to subscribe, because (as they observe) the assembly is not *select*. Hostilities ran so high at one time, between the great *Little* and the little *Great*, that the two parties separated, and formed each an assembly for itself. It was, however, soon found that the *Bal de Société* of the middling classes was more agreeable than the Grand Assembly of the fashionables, and that even several of the latter had become subscribers to it, and danced with the pretty *Bourgeoises*. Upon this, a negotiation was opened, the preliminaries settled; and when the new ball-room was finished, the definitive treaty was ratified by the re-union of the two parties. Since then it has been called the *Quebec Assembly;* but though it is held at the *Union* Hotel, there is little *union* of sentiment among the visitors even now. The private entertainments are very few, and are mere formal tea- and card-parties, in which frivolous remarks upon the weather, their household furniture, or their neighbours' follies, form the chief subjects of evening conversation. If the governor or lieutenant-governor is not in the country, the place is then extremely dull. During their residence at Quebec, routs, levees, and assemblies enliven the town

once or twice a week. But those are entertainments which interest only a select few. The majority of the inhabitants have little else but carioling to drive away the tedium of winter.

There is, indeed, a building at Quebec called a Theatre, and also one at Montreal; but the persons who perform, or rather attempt to perform there, are as bad as the worst of our strolling actors; yet they have the conscience to charge the same price nearly as the London theatres. Sometimes the officers of the army lend their assistance to the company; but I have seen none, except Colonel Pye, and Captain Clark of the 49th, who did not murder the best scenes of our dramatic poets. It may be easily conceived how despicably low the Canadian theatricals must be, when boys are obliged to perform the female characters: the only actress being an old superannuated demirep, whose drunken Belvideras, Desdemonas, and Isabellas, have often *enraptured* a Canadian audience.

Last year an attempt was made at Montreal to introduce a company from Boston, in conjunction with the Canadian performers. The embargo had partly driven them into Canada, where they wisely thought they might pick up a few dollars until better times. I went one hot summer's evening to see them perform in Catherine and Petruchio; but the abilities of the Bostonians

were totally eclipsed by the vulgarity and mistakes of the *drunken* Catherine, who walked the stage with devious steps, and convulsed the audience with laughter, which was all the entertainment we experienced in witnessing the mangled drama of our immortal bard. A Mr. and Mrs. Usher afterwards arrived from Boston, and performed several nights with considerable success. I had seen Usher perform at Boston, where he was reckoned only a second-rate actor; but in Canada he shone as a *star* of the first magnitude. They afterwards went to Quebec with the rest of the company, and performed several nights under the patronage of Sir James Craig, who for the first time honoured the theatre with his presence. It is said, that if they meet with sufficient encouragement they mean to establish themselves in Canada, and raise the drooping spirits of Thalia and Melpomene. They were at Quebec when I sailed for England, and from their sleek countenances and decent appearance I easily perceived that they had met with success in their theatrical speculation; for, instead of the shabby habiliments which they brought from the States, they were equipped in new suits of clothes, hats, socks, and buskins. The alteration in the Canadian corps was also very conspicuous; and instead of languishing away in a GAOL, as they perhaps would have done, they found their

"Stern alarms were changed to merry meetings."

The tedious evenings of the winter are sometimes relieved by a private concert. The performers are some gentlemen of Quebec, assisted by a part of the regimental bands in the garrison. But entertainments of this description very seldom take place, either from the expense which accrues to them, or the want of performers on particular instruments.

There are only two music-masters in Quebec, one of them is a good violin performer; but for any other instrument, they are both very indifferent teachers.

There are several Freemasons' lodges in Canada; but I never heard that the people are any wiser or better for those institutions. The Duke of Kent is at the head of the Canadian lodges, and is indeed looked up to as the patron of all the Canadian youth, many of whom come to England to request his assistance. If they are freemasons, they conceive they have a claim upon his patronage. His Royal Highness during his residence in Canada paid great attention to the inhabitants, particularly the French, to whom he gave commissions for their sons. His politeness and affability gained him the esteem of the people, many of whom, I believe, really look upon him as their tutelar saint and patron; at least such is the style in which I have heard him spoken of.

There are only two other societies or clubs worthy of notice at Quebec; the one a benefit

society for the relief of distressed members, and the other a convivial meeting. The latter is called the Barons' club, though it originally went by the name of the Beef-steak club. This society consists, I believe, of twenty-one members, who are chiefly the principal merchants in the colony, and are styled barons. As the members drop off, their places are supplied by knights elect, who are not installed as barons until there is a sufficient number to pay for the entertainment which is given on that occasion.

The ceremony of the installation of seven new knights took place during the winter I remained at Quebec. It had not happened for nearly twenty years before; and a very handsome entertainment was given at the Union Hotel. The new assembly-room was opened for the occasion; and upwards of 200 of the principal people in the country were invited by the knights elect to a splendid ball and supper. Mr. Dunn, the president of the province, and who administered the government in the absence of Sir Robert Milnes the lieutenant-governor, attended as the oldest baron. The chief justice and all the principal officers of the government, civil and military, were present. Their ladies formed a more brilliant display that evening than on any other occasion I had an opportunity of witnessing; and the whole was conducted with a regularity and de-

corum that would have done credit to any similar entertainment in London. We sat down to supper about two o'clock, and it was nearly five o'clock before the company began to depart. By that time some of the gentlemen were pretty merry, and I left them dancing what they called *Bacchanalian reels*. This entertainment is said to have cost upwards of 250 guineas, and was reckoned to have been the most splendid one given in Canada for many years.

The summer in Canada is devoted to business; a few parties of pleasure to the Falls or Lakes in the neighbourhood of the towns are all that enliven that season of commercial bustle. The winter is devoted to the amusements of the assembly; entertainments at the chateau; and the private tea and card parties mentioned before. The diversion of carioling at this season of the year is the greatest pleasure the inhabitants enjoy, and it is certainly a very delightful amusement, as well as a healthy exercise.

The fashionable youths of Quebec generally drive in the tandem style. Some of their carioles are extremely neat, and have a seat for the servant behind. They usually display their skill in carioling from twelve to three o'clock, through the principal streets of the Upper Town, particularly John-street, where these *savans* of the whip, and the gentry, who often parade between

those hours, render the *Rue St. Jean* a sort of Canadian Bond-street. Since the arrival of Sir James Craig, and the great increase of the civil and military officers belonging to the government and the staff, the fashionable society of Quebec is considerably improved, and the town rendered more lively and cheerful than during the presidency of Mr. Dunn.

There are two or three billiard-tables in Quebec, which are frequented by all ranks of people. Fishing and shooting may be enjoyed in Canada to the greatest extent. There are no game laws in that country to obstruct the pleasures of the sportsman. The diversion of skaiting is very little enjoyed in Lower Canada, in consequence of the abundance of snow that falls, and covers the ice to the depth of four or five feet; but the pleasures of carioling fully compensate for this loss. The rapidity with which the carioles glide along good roads is uncommonly agreeable; but over roads that are indifferent, or have been much worn by the carters' sleighs, the motion resembles the pitching of a vessel at sea, and is occasioned by what are called *cahots*, or ridges of snow in a transverse position across the roads. These cahots are formed after a heavy fall of snow by the sleighs, which gather up and deposit the snow in furrows.

At this season of the year the men wrap them-

selves up in thick Bath great coats, with several large capes that cover their shoulders, above which is a collar of fur. They fasten their coats round their waist with a sash ornamented with beads. A fur cap fashioned in the helmet style, and list shoes or Shetland hose outside their boots, complete the remainder of their winter's dress. When riding in a cariole they are wrapped up in a buffalo robe, which with a bear-skin apron in front effectually prevents the intrusion of the cold.

The ladies wear fur caps, muffs and tippets, velvet or cloth pelisses or great coats; with list shoes or Shetland hose, the same as the gentlemen. I have seen several French country-women come into town on the severest days without either fur cap or bonnet. Their heads were dressed in the old-fashioned style with a long braid behind, and above that a large stiff muslin cap. They wore printed cotton gowns, ornamented with large flowers similar to a bed pattern, of which they are generally very fond, with long waists. Over their neck was a white muslin handkerchief or coloured shawl: their appearance altogether put me more in mind of summer than winter.

In contrast to these ladies, who were walking about in the coldest weather in all the airy gaiety of the month of June, I have seen the

J. Bors del:

An Officer of the British Army and a Merchant of Quebec in their Winter Dress

young officers of the British army wrapped up in fur caps, large great coats, and *immense tippets of fur* round their necks, nearly touching the ground, as represented in the annexed engraving, from a drawing which I made on the spot. I should not be surprised if those *delicate young soldiers* were to introduce muffs: they were in general use among the men under the French government, and are still worn by two or three old gentlemen. It is said that half a century ago the gentlemen used to walk the streets in winter with fine powdered heads, and their *chapeau bras* under their arm: this, however, is a fashion of too petrifying a nature for our modern beaux, and therefore not likely to be introduced again.

The dress of the Canadian ladies at the present day is in every respect similar to the English fashions which are exported annually to Canada. They have a better opportunity now of receiving them earlier than under the French government, as ships arrive every month as long as the navigation is open. Little novelty or variety is to be found in the dress of the men, who for the most part are very careless of that ornament to the person; and even many of those who arrive from Europe get into the same negligent and slovenly habits, after residing a year or two in the colony. The winter is particularly favour-

able to the wearing of indifferent clothes; for, except in the house, the great coat is the only garment that is visible.

The mutations of fashion among the ladies of the colony are not so frequent as in the old country. Those that are adopted as new, are generally a twelvemonth old in England, and often continue in vogue for several seasons after their arrival. The country people are very little influenced by fashion; for with few exceptions they wear the same dress as was in existence a century ago. Some of their children are however beginning to dress in a more modern style; but the change proceeds slowly, and is confined chiefly to those who have intercourse with the towns.

Horse-racing has been introduced at Quebec since the arrival of Sir James Craig. The races took place for the first time in July 1807, upon the plains of Abraham; several of the military and mercantile gentlemen rode their own horses, and were dressed in the true jockey style. The races continued nearly a week, and purses were made up by subscription. The governor gave a purse of ten guineas, together with a certain number of saddles and bridles, to be run for on the last day by Canadian horses only. It was a curious sight to see the Habitans in their long-skirted frocks, with a pipe in their mouth, and a bonnet-rouge upon their head, riding over the

course, many of them without a saddle; flogging, kicking, and hallooing, in order to come in first for the prize: but their horses, though in general very fleet, were unused to the exertion of a race, and most of them foundered, or bolted from the course. The purse, and the saddles and bridles, were however delivered to the successful riders, by the governor, with whom the Habitans were highly delighted for his condescension. His excellency advised them to be careful of their breed of horses, and assured them that they should meet with every encouragement from him.

The races answered the views of the governor, who wished to conciliate the esteem of the Canadian Habitans, as well as to improve the breed of horses. They also gratified the inhabitants with a sight to which they had been unaccustomed. The present governor-general seems to be aware of the predilection of the people for shows and entertainments. The French have long been deprived of that outward pomp and parade of which they are so fond. His excellency has accordingly adopted a more splendid establishment than his predecessors, and has set up several handsome carriages which he took over with him. He also received some fine horses from England, and besides his usual attendants, has introduced two orderly dragoons into his establishment, who attend him whenever he rides out. Two or three

of his staff officers have also sported their chariots, besides splendid carioles for the winter. These equipages enliven the town, and please the people, who are fond of seeing the government supported with proper dignity.

Sir James Craig resided in summer at a country house about four or five miles from Quebec, and went to town every morning to transact business. This residence is called Powel-Place, and is delightfully situated in a neat plantation, on the border of the steep bank which overlooks the St. Lawrence, not far from the spot where General Wolfe landed, and ascended to the heights of Abraham. Sir James gave a splendid public breakfast, *al fresco*, at this place, in 1807, to all the principal inhabitants of Quebec; and the following day he allowed his servants, and their acquaintance, to partake of a similar entertainment at his expense.

The mode of living in Canada, among the genteel people, resembles in every respect that of England; and, except in such seasons as religion interferes with, the French inhabitants differ very little in their meals from the British settlers. The country people use very early hours, which oblige the people in the towns to be up earlier than they otherwise would, to purchase provisions at the markets. The Habitans are generally there by break of day, and the best of their arti-

cles are often sold before eight o'clock. At noon the market closes. This early rising induces the inhabitants to retire to rest soon, which is usually about ten o'clock.

Sixty years ago, the governor-general held his levee at seven o'clock in the morning, and the gentry dined exactly at noon. Their dinner consisted of soups, ragouts, and the usual French dishes, with a dessert of fruits and sweetmeats. Silver forks and spoons only were laid on the table, the ladies and gentlemen being provided with their own knives. Claret and spruce beer were the liquors usually drunk, and immediately after dinner coffee was brought upon table; after which they had no other meal till supper: this took place between seven and eight o'clock, and was composed of similar dishes as the dinner.

The present French and English gentry now dine at four o'clock, upon substantial joints of meat, fish, fowl, and game, with puddings and pies; drink their Madeira, Port, and Teneriffe after dinner; have their tea and card parties at seven, and conclude with a sandwich or *petit souper* in the true fashionable style.

The French inhabitants have certain fêtes and holidays prescribed by their religion; on those days they visit their friends, and give themselves up to pleasure and merriment. Before the settlement of the English in the colony, these fêtes

were very numerous, and of course detrimental to business, as well as to the morals of the lower order of the people. Since then the number has been considerably diminished, and the good effects are visible in the diminution of the number of poor people and beggars who formerly inhabited the towns. There are yet a few beggars and idiots who are allowed to disgrace Quebec and Montreal, when they might be amply provided for in some of the hospitals.

Among the British inhabitants, the festivals of Easter, Whitsuntide, Michaelmas, and Christmas, are not noticed as they are in England. The only holiday which is kept with any degree of festivity is New year's day. On this day, it is at present a very general custom throughout Canada, for the gentlemen to go round to all their friends and acquaintance, to reciprocate the compliments of the season, and a happy new year; wine and cake are laid out for the visitors, who continue their peregrinations for three days. It was formerly the practice on these occasions, for the gentlemen, when paying their respects to the ladies, to salute them with a chaste kiss. The French ladies presented their *cheek* to the gentlemen, but the British ladies were saluted on the *lips*. This fashion prevailed until within these few years, when it most likely was dropped on account of the visitors being so numerous. It

could not always have been a very agreeable custom for the ladies, particularly the British, whose manner of kissing was not so well adapted to a large company as that of the French, with whom the custom originated.

The ceremony of kissing on New-year's day was not, however, confined to Canada, but was also practised in former times in the then British colonies. That it is now fallen into disrepute in those parts, as well as in Canada, may be gathered from a passage in a recent periodical work published at New York, entitled Salmagundi.

"Only one thing (says Launcelot Langstaff, speaking of the new-year festivities) was wanting to make every part of the celebration accord with its ancient simplicity. The ladies, who (I write it with the most piercing regret) are generally at the head of all domestic innovations, most fastidiously refused that mark of good will, that chaste and holy salute which was so fashionable in the happy days of Governor Rip and the Patriarchs. Even the Miss Cocklofts, who belong to a family that is the last intrenchment behind which the manners of the good old school have retreated, made violent opposition, and, whenever a gentleman entered the room, immediately put themselves in a posture of defence: this, Will Wizard, with his usual shrewdness, insists was only to give the visitors a hint, that they expected an

attack, and declares, he has uniformly observed, that the resistance of those ladies who make the greatest noise and bustle is most easily overcome. This sad innovation originated with my good aunt Charity, who was as arrant a tabby as ever wore whiskers; and I am not a little afflicted to find that she has so many followers among the young and beautiful*."

The houses of the Canadians, though always sufficiently heated by stoves, yet are often very indifferently secured against the entrance of the cold. The number that have double windows and doors are very few, and the folding casements in use, with so many small panes of glass, by no means succeed in wholly excluding the cold. The houses are also frequently very ill built, and the rooms awkwardly situated. To the street-door of some of the houses there is a kind of outer door, meanly built, and covered in like a watch-box for the purpose of sheltering persons from the weather, while knocking at the inner door. They have a shabby appearance, especially if placed (as they often are) against the entrance of a respectable house; besides which, they are scarcely big enough to hold one person,

* This very entertaining collection of Essays, entitled Salmagundi, has been reprinted in London, with an Introductory Essay and Explanatory Notes, and published by J. M. Richardson, Cornhill.

until the other door is opened. A portico, or double entrance of some kind or other, is absolutely wanted for the houses in Canada, where it is necessary to be sheltered from the severity of the cold, the rain, or the snow, until you get admittance into the house; and it would be very easy to build them with some little taste, to correspond with the building: but at present they often consist of merely a few boards nailed together, and left in their natural state without paint. Before the frost sets in, the inhabitants make all their windows fast, and paste paper over every crevice in order to exclude the external air. The windows are seldom opened again before the month of April.

A few of the British inhabitants have introduced open fire-places with grates as in England; but they have also one or more stoves, the pipes of which pass through the different rooms in the house.

The stove which stands in the kitchen often answers the double purpose of cooking for the family, and heating several other rooms of the house. Stoves have the advantage of open fire-places, by diffusing the warmth more generally throughout the room; but they are neither so cheerful to the eye, nor so beneficial to the constitution. It is true that in England we frequently roast on one side, and freeze on the

other; but I would rather endure those extremes, than live in many of the Canadian houses, the heat of which is as oppressive as that of a vapour bath.

For the first two or three months after my arrival in Canada, while I remained in the house, I was continually oppressed with the heat that issued from the stove. It was very severe weather; and our family had had, I suppose, such a dread of a Canadian winter, from the reports they had heard, that they believed they could not keep the stove too hot, so that we often had the heat up to 90 or 100. The consequence was, that I experienced violent head-aches, and bleeding at the nose; and I was glad to walk out even in the coldest weather, rather than be stewed in a hummums at home.

I have very little doubt but these stoves are the cause of the consumptions of which so many of the Canadian females are the victims; for the ladies, rather than spoil their shape by additional clothing, will hover over the stove in their thin habiliments, by which means they inhale an unwholesome vapour that proves injurious to their health, and renders their complexion pale and sickly.

The furniture of the houses is generally made in Canada, for that brought from England falls to pieces in a room where there is a stove. The

chairs are mostly like our windsor chairs, painted green, and made of well seasoned wood; the tables and other kinds of furniture are made of the beech- or the maple-tree: mahogany is not very common in Canada.

The houses are very badly painted, and it is not often that they are fitted up and finished in a very complete style. The neat and cleanly appearance of an English dwelling is very rarely met with in the Canadian towns.

The boarding-houses in Quebec are but few, and those few are kept by French ladies. They have nothing to recommend them to an English taste. The price of boarding is from one guinea to eight dollars per week. At the taverns they charge a dollar per day. The Union Hotel on the Parade and Sturch's in St. John-street are the two best for strangers.

CHAPTER XVI.

Literature, Arts, and Sciences—Marquis de la Galissoniere—His extensive Knowledge—Literature in Canada—Almanacs—Quebec and Montreal Gazettes—Newspapers—Quebec Mercury—Canadian Courant—Le Canadien—Abuse of the Liberty of the Press—Public Peculation—Courier de Quebec—Newspaper Warfare—Public Library—Novels and Romances—Amatory Poems—Modern Refinement in Writing—Tom Jones and Roderic Random—Novel Reading—Pictures of fictitious Life—Accomplishments of the Canadian Ladies—Progress and Influence of Music on Society—"O, Lady Fair"—Oilman's Daughter—America, Mistress of the World—Model of Quebec.

The state of literature, the arts, and sciences, in Canada, can scarcely be said to be at a low ebb, because they were never known to flow; and, from what I have mentioned concerning the defects in education which exist in the colony, it is not likely that they will, in our time at least, rise much above their present level. The policy of the French government kept the people in a

state of ignorance, printing presses were unknown, and books were procured with difficulty and expense from France. The general levity and dissipation which prevailed in society tended also to the depreciation of learning. The Jesuits and their missionaries were the only people possessed of a taste for the sciences, or that possessed the means and opportunities of cultivating that taste. They investigated with ardour the natural history of the country and its inhabitants, and from them we derive the greatest part of the knowledge and information we have of the interior of North America.

If the Canadian creoles, under the French government, had ever possessed a disposition to cultivate the arts and sciences, it would have displayed itself under the admininistration of the Marquis de la Galissoniere, who was the most active and enterprising governor that had ever been sent out, and possessed a very extensive knowledge of every branch of science. He was in every respect a complete statesman, and his acquirements in natural history, philosophy, and mathematics were made subservient to the views of his government. He procured information from the remotest parts of the colony, respecting its inhabitants, animals, trees, plants, earths, and minerals; and the lakes, rivers, and oceans, that water the extensive portion of the American

continent over which he ruled. He could even give a better account of distant places which he had never visited, than the very people who resided on the spot. In short, Galissoniere was the very man to arouse the spirit of the Canadians to a taste for science and the polite arts, had it been only dormant; but the fact was, that sprung from an idle, restless, and volatile race of people, they never possessed the least inclination or ability to emerge from the ignorance and dissipation into which they had sunk.

The state of literature and the arts did not improve very rapidly after the conquest of the country by the English. The traders and settlers, who took up their abode among the French, were ill qualified to diffuse a taste for the arts and sciences, unless indeed it was the *science* of barter, and the *art* of gaining cent. per cent. upon their goods.

For many years no other work was printed in the colony than an almanac; not even a newspaper could find either talents to indite, or money to support it; which was the more surprising, as those periodical publications are such favourites with the British people, and in the United States have existed for upwards of a century. At the present day they are scattered like chaff before the wind all over that immense territory; and in point of worth many of them are not a whit better than that dross.

Of late years the Canadians have appeared desirous of establishing some claim to a literary character. They seem determined to make amends for the neglect with which they have hitherto treated that polite and useful accomplishment of society. At all events, the publishing of six newspapers weekly, is a proof of the progressive improvement and prosperity of the country, though it may be but a fallacious symptom of literary improvement.

Four of the newspapers are published in Quebec, and two in Montreal. These, with an almanac, and the acts of the provincial parliament, are all the works that are printed in Lower Canada. Two of these newspapers have been established fifteen or sixteen years; one of them is the Montreal Gazette, and the other the Quebec Gazette. They are published in French and English, and contain the governor's proclamations and edicts—the advertisements of the sheriff's sales—merchants' stores—public auctions, &c.—together with a selection of the earliest intelligence extracted from the English and American papers. The subscription to each is twenty shillings per annum, and the price of advertisements is nearly the same as in England.

The Gazettes seldom interfere with the morals or manners of society; those subjects are left for the other weekly papers which are published on

Saturdays and Mondays. These papers consist of the *Quebec Mercury*, published entirely in English, by Cary, on Monday afternoon, and has been established about eight years. The *Canadian Courant*, also published in English at Montreal every Monday by Nahum Mower, an American from the States, who set up the paper about six years ago. The other papers are wholly French, and have been established since the year 1806.

The one called *Le Canadien* is conducted by some disaffected or rather dissatisfied French lawyers and members of the House of Assembly. It is the only opposition paper in the province; but the Habitans either cannot read it, or pay very little attention to the complaints which it contains against the government. It is enough for them that they feel not the burthens and calamities of which others complain. The writers in *Le Canadien*, however, abused the liberty of the press to such a degree, in the course of the year 1808, that Sir James Craig thought proper to divest some of those gentlemen of the commissions which they held in the French militia, one of whom was a Colonel. It was said that the Attorney-general had received directions to prosecute the editors and publishers of that paper, but I have not learnt that it has been carried into execution. The paper is still continued, and the writers still

continue to complain; they are only more cautious in what they say.

It must be allowed that a watchful eye should be kept upon the public expenditure of every country; and the defection of the late Commissary-general in Canada, as well as the shameful sale of the St. Maurice forges, &c. fully justify a censorial scrutiny into the conduct of public officers. I have also heard that abuses exist to a very alarming degree in the government of Upper Canada, which call for immediate investigation. Even the pure republicans of the United States, who are continually speaking with reproach of the old and vicious governments of Europe, confess that they lately had a Vice-president on trial for treason—a Senator of Congress on trial for conspiracy—a Commander-in-chief of the navy on trial for cowardice—and a Commander-in-chief of the army on trial for bribery and corruption!!!

The other French paper, called *Le Courier de Quebec*, is of very small size, and published every Saturday at two dollars per annum. This little paper is conducted by two or three young French Canadians, for the purpose of inserting their fugitive pieces. These gentlemen have recently established a literary society, which, though it may not contain the talents of a National Institute, or of a Royal Society, is notwithstanding

deserving of all the encouragement that can be given to it by the Canadian government. The first dawn of genius in such a country should be hailed with pleasure.

The *Mercury* and *Canadian Courant* are devoted to news, and all the various ephemera which usually appear in periodical works of that description. The original essays which appear are merely of a local nature, and are generally the offspring of party disputation, acrimony, and slander; and are of course generally written in 'Wit, and Sense, and Nature's spite.'

The writers in these Canadian papers are, like their brethren of England and the United States, in constant warfare with each other. 'Volumes of words have been expended, oceans of ink have been shed, nor has any mercy been shown to age, sex, or condition.' This scribbling warfare is no doubt necessary to the existence of some of these papers, which are often supported by the desire that people have to know what one says of the other, and what both say of *them*. I have frequently noticed in London, that whenever a newspaper is published, it is not out three days before the warhoop is raised, and it begins an attack upon some old established journal; this draws on a retort, and to it they go pell mell; discharging volumes of abuse at each other, and scattering their dirt in the faces of their customers, until

the fame of the new one is fully established, or the other is tired: they then both agree to a suspension of their *inky* arms, and compromise their differences by a coalition for or against the ministry, as they find most convenient.

The only public library in Canada is kept at Quebec, in one of the apartments at the Bishop's palace. It is small, and very indifferently supplied with new publications. The books circulate only in that city among those inhabitants who subscribe. Novels and romances are most in request among the Canadian ladies, as they indeed are among the ladies of Europe. These are the only books which seem to have any charms for the modern fair sex, and it is of little consequence in the opinion of many, how they are written or what they contain. The department of novel-writing, which, like all other works of fancy, requires taste, judgement, and ability, has of late years fallen off considerably from its wonted spirit and originality, though it must be confessed that the language is in general less offensive to delicacy than the celebrated novels of Smollett and Fielding. But small is the number that are written with the abilities of those writers, or that have any claims to pre-eminence over the heterogeneous mass which the press so abundantly lavishes on the public; and it is a lamentable fact, that the few which are superior to the

rest, have too often been made the vehicles of immoral sentiment, or of dangerous philosophy. Through the medium of a novel or romance, the voluptuary has conveyed in the most insinuating language his impure and libidinous sentiments, and the sophister has infused his dangerous and insidious opinions. But to amuse is the object of these writers; and they care not how much the heart of the reader is inflamed by voluptuous descriptions, revolutionary tenets, or impious dogmas, if they can but accommodate themselves to the reigning taste, which they themselves have contributed so largely to vitiate and deprave.

The writers and publishers of obscene pamphlets and prints have of late been punished in England with laudable severity, and few of the low and vulgar magazines and periodical publications that prevailed about thirty years ago are now to be met with. This would certainly appear to augur well of the improvement of the national taste, and the depreciation of vice, was it not that the form only is changed, and that coarse wit and vulgar obscenity are merely laid aside for soft nonsense and genteel voluptuousness. The licentious and lustful descriptions of modern writers have probably done more injury to the rising generation than the plain and open avowal of vice. For the impure sentiments of an elegant author are more likely to undermine the morals of youth,

than the coarse ribaldry or low obscenity of a Grub-street writer. The one is fascinating, but the other is disgusting. The former may contaminate virtue, but the latter can administer pleasure only to vice.

When in New York, I was told that The Monk made its first appearance in that city in a weekly magazine; and such was the rage to peruse the detached parts of that elegantly-written but impure novel, that the servants were waiting at the publishers several hours before the delivery of the magazine, in order to convey it to their masters or mistresses as early as possible.

The mischievous effects which the amatory novels and poetry of the present day have upon the minds of the young and inexperienced are incalculable; and, if it was not possible to find proper books for the instruction and amusement of youth, I would approve the choice of a lady of my acquaintance, who allowed her daughters to read Tom Jones and Roderic Random, rather than suffer them to look into a novel, romance, or poem written by our refined but licentious modern authors. Few, indeed, can sit down to read them, without fancying themselves the heroes or heroines of the tale; and the fictitious picture of life, which is there represented in such glowing colours, creates in them a feeling of disgust at their own situation. When they cast the book aside, they

find themselves to be common mortals, incapable of realising, in the present state of society, those romantic attachments of which they were enamoured in the novel. They perceive that the virtues of mankind, instead of being carried to excess, are often sullied by failings, and even vice; and that the vicious part are not totally exempt from good qualities. In short, the characters in real life are seldom or never liable to those extremes which are to be found in novels; and the absurd ideas and impure sentiments which are continually broached in works of that description, have often been the means of carrying some of their fair readers to the Magdalen or Doctors' Commons.

The ladies of Canada have not, however, so many temptations thrown in their way as the ladies of Britain; very few new publications, good or bad, ever make their appearance in that country. The printing-offices at Quebec and Montreal are the only book stores in the country, and those collections consist chiefly of school books and a few old histories. Reading is not altogether so general an amusement as it is in England; and I believe that the Canadian ladies spend the greatest portion of their time in doing nothing, or at least in doing that which amounts to nothing. The polite accomplishments of drawing and music are almost strangers in Canada. I

never heard of more than half a-dozen who understood either, and they were but moderate proficients. But the Canadian ladies labour under the disadvantage of indifferent teachers, in almost every branch of polite education; it would, therefore, be severe to censure them for not possessing extraordinary talents and accomplishments. Many of them, however, have natural genius and abilities, that only require to be properly cultivated to render them in every respect equal to the European females.

It would be a curious subject for research to investigate the progress and influence of music upon the morals, manners, and disposition of society in England, for it never was so much in vogue as at the present day: it almost seems to supersede many other branches of female education, which are more necessary to the cultivation of the mind. A fine shape, a good voice, and a sufficient knowledge of the piano for "O lady fair," appear to be the chief requisites for young ladies, and all that engross the attention of indulgent parents and fashionable governesses. Young ladies of all ranks mix together at the elegant seminaries in the vicinity of London; though, when their education is finished, some go behind the counter, or into the kitchen, while others step into a chariot. On entering a small oil-shop once, near London, my attention was suddenly

arrested by the dulcet strains of the oilman's daughter, who was practising her lessons on the piano in a little room adjoining the shop. I could not help admiring the whimsical circumstance of having three of my senses brought into action at once by such opposite materials. My sight was regaled by the mops, brushes, and brooms that hung over my head ; my nose was asailed by the effluvia of train oil, turpentine, and varnish ; while my ears were delighted with the melodious sounds of vocal and instrumental music.

Refinement is the shrine at which all classes of the community now sacrifice, and it will most likely, in course of time, be carried to the same extent as it was in the most splendid æras of Egyptian, Grecian, and Roman grandeur ; till, like the refinement of those nations, it reverts to its almost primitive state of barbarism. The Americans, no doubt, flatter themselves that, as improvement has been travelling westward since the beginning of the world, their quarter of the globe will prove to be the phœnix that shall rise out of the ashes of European luxury and refinement ; that it shall survive the wreck of nations, and reign in future ages mistress of the world.

Before I quit the subject of the arts in Canada, a country seemingly more capable of supporting than creating genius, I must not omit to mention, with the approbation he deservedly merits, a gen-

tleman of the name of Duberger, a native of that country, and an officer in the corps of engineers and military draughtsmen. He is a self-taught genius, and has had no other advantage than what the province afforded him, for he has never been out of the country. He excels in the mechanical arts, and the drawing of military surveys, &c. He had the politeness to show me several of his large draughts of the country, and many other drawings, some of which were beautifully done, and are deposited in the Engineer's office. The only correct chart of Lower Canada, and which was published in London, by Faden, in the name of Mr. Vondenvelden, was taken by Mr. Duberger and another gentleman, whose names had a much greater right to appear on the chart than the one which is at present there.

But the most important of his labours is a beautiful model of Quebec, upon which he is at present employed, in conjunction with a school-fellow of mine, Captain By of the engineers, whom I had the unexpected pleasure of meeting in Canada after an absence of ten years. The whole of the model is sketched out, and a great part is finished, particularly the fortifications and public buildings. It is upwards of 35 feet in length, and comprises a considerable portion of the plains of Abraham, as far as the spot where Wolfe died. That which is done is finished with exquisite neatness; cut

entirely out of wood, and modelled to a certain scale, so that every part will be completed with singular correctness, even to the very shape and projection of the rock, the elevations and descents in the city, and on the plains, particularly those eminences which command the garrison. It is to be sent to England when finished, and will, no doubt, be received by the British government with the approbation it merits *.

* It is now deposited at Woolwich, 1813.

CHAPTER XVII.

Roman Catholic Clergy—Religious Orders—Toleration of the Catholic Religion—Character of the Canadian Priests — Zeal of the Nuns — Double Funeral—Fêtes and Holidays—Number of Clergy in Canada—Errors and Corruption of the Romish Church—Fallen State—Harmless at the present Day—Canadian Catholics—Irish Catholics — Catholic Emancipation — Disinterested Conduct in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth—Unanimity—Religion of our Ancestors—Reasons why it should be preferred—Variety of Religions —Exemplary Conduct of the Canadian Catholics —Conversion—Anecdote of First Cousins—Protestant Clergy—Bishop of Quebec—Trafalgar Dinner—Protestant Religion in Danger.

When Canada surrendered to the English, the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion was stipulated for, and granted. Its ministers were also to be protected and supported as they had formerly been; the Jesuits and Recollets only excepted, whose orders were to remain as they then were, without receiving in future any augmentation of their numbers. While there existed

an individual of their order, the revenues and property belonging to it were to be at his disposal; but at his death they reverted to the king, and the order became extinct.

Of the three religious male orders at that time in existence, the priests alone were allowed to increase their numbers, and to officiate in every respect as they had been accustomed to under the French government. The female orders being charitable institutions, and beneficial to the colony, were also allowed to exist, and were permitted to fill up their vacancies and increase their establishments as they had formerly done. They were to be protected in their persons and property upon the same footing as under the French government.

This toleration of the Catholic religion, and of its monastic institutions, was a measure of necessity rather than of choice. In a conquered country where the whole population was of one faith, it would have been a dangerous experiment to have attempted, or even to have shown a wish, to subvert the established religion. Nothing more than what was done could be done with propriety or safety. It would have been worse than Quixotism to have forced 80,000 people to adopt the religion and form of worship of 500, who, exclusive of the king's troops, were all the British subjects that settled in the province for more than fourteen years

after the conquest. Hence it appears that the toleration of the Catholic religion, and of the female institutions belonging to it, was a matter not only of necessity but of sound policy. It was necessary to obtain the confidence of the people, and their affection for the new government. It was a measure of policy, because, as long as the priests found that they enjoyed the same rights and privileges as they possessed before the conquest, it was of little consequence to them under what government they lived; and in return for the protection which they received, they would incite the people to obedience.

They perhaps felt themselves rather elevated than depressed by the change; for, on the extinction of the other ecclesiastical establishments, their order became the only male one in existence. Whereas, when they lived under the French government, the priesthood was only second in rank, the Jesuits taking the lead in all affairs of importance; and no little degree of jealousy existed between those two powerful bodies. The priests, therefore, gained a certain degree of importance by the change, without having their property, their rights, or immunities the least impaired.

That they are sensible of the protection they receive from the English government, and the benefits they derive from the constitution under which they live, is sufficiently demonstrated by

their conduct and behaviour, which have ever been highly honourable to their character as men and as Christian pastors.

I have read that the priests of Canada were, in the time of the French government, meddling and officious people, violent enthusiasts, and intolerant fanatics, all which, as might naturally be supposed, was exceeded only by their ignorance. Whether the priests in those days deserved this severe character, which has been given them by some of the old writers, it is now impossible to say; but I can safely answer for the Roman clergy of the present day, that they are distinguished by conduct totally the reverse of that attributed to their predecessors, and that the character which they universally bear throughout Canada, is that which is required of every man who undertakes to dispense the benefits of christianity to his fellow-creatures. Their lives are exemplary; and it is seldom that any of them can be accused of giving advice which they themselves do not follow.

If the British government is reproachable for exhibiting such a tolerant spirit towards the Catholic religion in Canada, it should, at least, be some mitigation of that reproach, when it is known that the Catholic clergy have imbibed the same spirit of toleration; and that they have not only ceased to persecute for the sake of religion, but they forbear to importune, even though they

J. Hamberc del.

A French Canadian Lady in her Winter dress and a Roman Catholic Priest

should gain a convert by it. It is no doubt in grateful return for the tenderness with which their faith has been treated, that in Canada we hear nothing of that enthusiastic spirit of proselytism, for which the priests in other Catholic countries are so celebrated. The Canadian priests concern themselves only with their Catholic parishioners, with the Indians, or with those who have no religion at all. But the Protestant subjects, as far as I have understood, they seldom or never interfere with; and if ever any of the Protestants do exchange their faith for that of the Romish church, it is more owing to the negligence of their own clergy than to the persuasions of the French priests. The nuns, however, appear to be more desirous of gaining converts, though I never heard of their being very successful. A singular instance occurred about the year 1807, upon the death of Dr. Syms of Montreal, who had attended the *Hotel Dieu* of that city, as physician, for upwards of sixteen years. At his decease the nuns of the Hospital claimed and took possession of his body, for the purpose of burying it in their chapel, declaring that they had converted him to their communion, and that he died a Roman Catholic. Mr. M'G——, the intimate friend of Dr. Syms, resolutely opposed these zealous ladies, and demanded the Doctor's body, in order that it might be interred in the Protestant

burying-ground. The nuns stood out for some time, but were at length reluctantly obliged to part with their dear Doctor. They were, however, determined not to be deprived of doing honour to the *soul* of their convert, though his *body* was not in their possession. A coffin was accordingly procured, and carried with much pomp and ceremony into their chapel, where mass was said for the repose of his soul; after which the empty coffin was buried with great solemnity, the bells of the cathedral and chapel tolling during the whole of the funeral service. The holy sisters declared they had saved his soul, and it was of no consequence what became of his body. I was told that the Doctor had left a sum of money to the Hospital in his will. At all events the ladies were determined to honour his memory.

The multitude of fêtes and holidays, which under the French government checked the industry and increased the poverty of the people, are now nearly abolished. A few only of the principal saints' days are enjoined by the church, the rest have sunk into oblivion; so that a Popish procession is now a very rare sight in that country. There are seldom more than two or three in the course of the year, one of which is the Fête Dieu, (on Trinity-Thursday): and was it not for the accidental sight of a priest, or a funeral now and then, a stranger in Canada would scarcely know that he

lived in a Catholic country; yet the number of Catholics, compared to that of the Protestants, is as ten to one. There are about 180 Catholic priests and 12 Protestant ministers, including those of the dissenting professions. Among the Protestants the churches of England and Scotland are most numerous. Notwithstanding the Catholic priests are so many, I am told there are several parishes in want of them.

The errors, superstition, and corruption of the Romish faith originated chiefly from the ambition of its ministers in the early ages of Christianity. They were not satisfied with teaching the mild and peaceful doctrines of that holy religion, but they must aspire to spiritual dominion over their votaries: they had totally forgotten the pattern of humility set them by their heavenly master. In course of time they erected themselves into temporal as well as spiritual sovereigns, and at one period gave law to all Europe. Instead of enlightening their disciples, and removing that cloud of ignorance and superstition which overshadowed the minds of the people during the Gothic age; they sought only how they might increase the darkness of that period, and lead the people blindfold through the intricate mazes which they had woven into their religious system. Hence, the divine precepts of Christianity, which breathed only peace and good will towards man, were ren-

dered subservient to the diabolical arts and machinations of a set of villains; and instead of tending to the welfare and happiness of mankind, they were made the horrid and blasphemous instruments of tyranny, persecution, and bloodshed.

The Romish religion, as being the mine from whence those evils sprang with which the Christian faith overwhelmed the civilized parts of the globe, came in process of time to be viewed with that horror which it so justly deserved. As the minds of the people became enlightened, they gradually threw off the fetters of superstition. Their eyes were opened to the errors and corruption of their faith, and reformation then dawned upon the world. Christianity was once more restored to its primitive simplicity, and Popish fopperies were avoided with horror and detestation.

At the present day the Roman Catholic religion, compared with its most flourishing periods, is humbled to the dust. With the exception of Spain and Portugal, it is in every other nation as harmless as many of those branches of the reformed religion, which are stalking with rapid strides over every quarter of the globe; and whose missionaries, with all the fanaticism but with none of the genius and ability of the Jesuits, are wandering about in search of converts. The Romish religion at this day is a serpent without a sting;

and like those which the jugglers of India carry about, it may come out of its box to amuse the people, but it can do them no injury. It is a singular fact, that religions of every denomination prosper more under a state of persecution than of toleration. On those occasions the enthusiasm of their votaries is wrought up to the highest pitch; but when they are living in ease and plenty, and allowed the same rights and privileges which others enjoy, the effervescence of their holy zeal subsides like the violent passion of a hasty man.

The Catholics of Canada are a living evidence of the beneficial effects of religious toleration, regulated by the prudent measures of a mild and liberal government, though professing a contrary faith, and one too that was formerly viewed by the Papists with as much horror as we looked upon theirs. But the Canadian Catholics never concern themselves about the religion of those who hold the reins of government. It is sufficient for them that they are allowed every privilege which the Protestants enjoy; that they sit in the executive and legislative councils, in the House of Assembly, and upon the Bench. It is true, a Catholic has never yet been governor of the colony since it has been under the English government; but that is of little consequence to them, because none ever aspire to that high and distinguished post, while every other of consequence and importance is

open to them. An English or Irish Roman Catholic, upon the same principle, would care very little whether a Protestant or Catholic prince filled the throne, as long as he enjoyed the same honours and confidence as his Protestant brethren, and had nothing to gain by the change. But while their passions are roused, and their pride inflamed, by contumacious treatment, they will never cease to resent it, and to wish for such a change as may turn the scale against their oppressors. Do away their grievances, and they will have nothing to complain of: put them upon the same footing as ourselves, and they will have nothing to hope for, nothing to expect, beyond what they are lawfully entitled to.

We seem to have forgotten the unanimity which prevailed among all ranks of people, Catholics as well as Protestants, in the days of Queen Elizabeth, when the Spanish armada threatened to subvert the Protestant power, and raise the Catholics to pre-eminence. It is recorded of the latter, that they voluntarily came forward and contributed ships and money towards the defence of the kingdom, delicately forbearing to offer their own personal services, lest the sincerity of their motives might be suspected: nor is there one solitary instance of plot, riot, or insurrection originating with the Catholics of the kingdom at that momentous period. But if ancient times are too re-

mote for our notice, or lest there should be any perversion of fact in our history, let us look to our own times, when the scarlet monster is somewhat more harmless than she was a century and a half ago. Here we may see with our own eyes the unanimity that prevails in many parts of Europe, in the United States of North America, and more particularly in our own colony of Lower Canada, between Catholics and Protestants, and between Christians and Pagans of every denomination. There we hear of no disputes, no persecutions on account of religion; no insurrections, plots, and conspiracies to subvert the governments because they are not of the true faith. In short, as to temporal matters, religion is only a secondary consideration with them; and while they are allowed to follow the dictates of their own conscience, and to enjoy equal rights, liberties, and immunities one with the other, they look only to the preservation of that form of government, and that system of things, which protect them in the enjoyment of those privileges, and defend them from foreign usurpation.

From the unanimity which reigns in those countries, with regard to religion, let us turn our eyes to our own country, where fifteen millions of people are afraid of trusting only one-fifth of their number, and their own countrymen too, with equal rights and privileges with themselves. If

the Roman Catholics were really such a desperate body of people as they are represented to be, I am really astonished that the Canadians have not long ago cleared the colony of every English heretic that had set foot in it. Why they, as Frenchmen, and old inveterate enemies, should be more tender of us than the English and Irish Roman Catholics, who are our own countrymen, is one of the marvellous mysteries of this eventful period. An indifferent person, judging of things merely from common sense, might perhaps think it was owing to the different mode of treatment, and that we fostered the one while we persecuted the other. Though this may not be strictly true, yet it is certain that too little attention has been paid to the interests of the sister kingdom.

It is, I think, more to the credit of a man to adhere to the faith in which he was initiated from the hour of his birth, than when arrived at manhood to take up with any plausible doctrine that may be broached in his presence by the artful or ignorant enthusiast; unless, indeed, that his conscience really revolts at the errors or absurdities of his own religion:—then it is praise-worthy to depart from them. Independent of the veneration which we feel for the religion of our ancestors, we are more likely to keep to that in which we have always been bred; because, were it even Paganism, no sin can attach to us on that account.

How far the sin rests upon the head of those who originally departed from the worship of the true God, is a matter which surely cannot affect their offspring for thousands of generations. We are told that the sins of the fathers are visited upon their children, unto the third and fourth generations; but we are not told that punishment continues for a series of ages. A man, therefore, cannot be said to be accountable for the errors and defects of that religion which originated centuries before he was born, and in which he was initiated by his parents. The main precepts of every religion tend to the adoration of a supreme Being, though the forms under which he is worshipped are nearly as various as the people who worship him. While, therefore, a man acts strictly up to the precepts inculcated by his faith, no matter whether Pagan, Christian, Jew, or Mohammedan, he is, according to my humble ideas, as much entitled to admission into Heaven as one of a contrary religion, though the latter should arrogate to himself and others of his sect exclusive right and title to that holy place.

If we were not guided by the religion of our fathers, and were left when of age to choose one for ourselves, what a variety would be laid before us from which to pick and choose! What a multitude of creeds, opinions, and forms of worship, should we be urged to acccept by the zealous mis-

sionaries of Jews, Turks, Christians, and Pagans; of Chinese, Hindoos, Peruvians and Otaheitans; of Papists, Presbyterians, Jansenists, and Methodists; of Quakers, Shakers, Swadlers, and Jumpers; of Lutherans, Calvinists, Arians, and Socinians; of Moravians, Hugonots, Muggletonians, and Anabaptists; and of their innumerable branches and ramifications, each of which has a distinct form of its own! Were a person, possessing no sort of faith or form of worship whatever, one, in short, who never had an idea of going to heaven through such means, were he, I say, to have his choice of such a motley collection, how difficult would he find it to select the *right one!* But when he was told that each of these separate sects absolutely declared that *its* faith was the *only true religion*—that its followers were the *only elect people of God*—and that all others would be *everlastingly damned,*—he must be so staggered by the information, that he would naturally decline having any thing to do with either; and would most likely prefer the dictates of his own conscience to all the invitations held out to him by the missionaries of such a variety of contradictory religions.

It is better, however, to have an imperfect faith and form of worship, than to have no religion at all; for a man's mind is seldom firm enough to carry him safe through the allurements of vice, without the guide and support of some-

thing stronger than his own conscience, which may be lulled to sleep when it interferes with his pleasures. A man without religion is like a ship without a rudder: he is left at large on the ocean of uncertainty, tost about at the mercy of a troubled mind, nor does he gain the peaceful haven until Religion comes to his aid.

For fifty years the Roman Catholics of Canada have lived under a Protestant government.—They have been dutiful and obedient subjects; and when our other colonies shook off the yoke of Great Britain, they remained true and faithful, notwithstanding great inducements were held out to them by their neighbours to follow their example. This steady adherence of the Canadians to their conquerors can be attributed only to their due sense of the benefits they had received from them, and to the firm attachment of the clergy to the British government; for had the latter been inimical, either from religious or political causes, they could with the greatest ease have stirred up the whole body of the people to rebellion. There were only 500 British settlers in the colony, and sometimes not a thousand troops; and it is well known that General Carleton saved Quebec, when besieged by General Montgomery, chiefly by the exertions of the inhabitants.

The Roman Catholic religion has been no way injurious to the Protestant establishment in that

country; for though their number has increased from 80,000 to 180,000, yet the British have increased from 500 to 20,000. Some few instances, it is true, have occurred, in which Protestants have renounced their faith for that of the Romish church; but this possibly happened in those places where there was no Protestant minister or place of worship, and where they must have neglected religion entirely, had they not gone to the Catholic church. The few British subjects that were then in the province were, according to General Murray's account, a most immoral set of men; it was, therefore, of little consequence what *faith* they professed, when their *works* tended so little to the credit of themselves or the edification of others. If such men entered the Romish communion, it was more owing to the inattention of the Protestant clergy than to the officiousness of the French priests. It is possible, however, that some of the latter may have been guided by a desire to make proselytes, but it was by no means general; and indeed the Canadian priests have seemed anxious to discharge only their own functions, without interfering with those of the English ministers. As to the latter, they cannot be charged with even the most distant wish to convert the Roman Catholics into Protestants; nor perhaps are they sufficiently qualified for the task. It is not a haughty, supercilious behaviour that will win the

esteem of the Canadians; on the contrary, they are a people of such polite and easy demeanour themselves, that they are rather repulsed than invited by the manners of some of the English clergy.

It is a misfortune for the Protestant interest in general, and for the English church in particular, that any of its ministers in Canada should be deficient in those qualifications which might engage the affection and esteem of the people of that country; but it is yet worse when they are deficient in the very duties of their profession. The blunders that some of them make in the church service are not only painful to hear, but must tend considerably to lessen the dignity of our religion in the eyes of the Canadians. I have been told also, that besides their regular salaries, of from two to five hundred a year, they charge very high fees for christenings, &c. and it has been known that poor people, unable to pay the Protestant minister 12*s.* 6*d.* for baptizing their children, have taken them to the Catholic church, where they have been christened for a few pence. As a set-off, however, to the subject of high fees in christenings, I must mention an anecdote in favour of our clergy respecting marriage fees. A poor Habitant had fallen in love with his first cousin, and matters had proceeded to such a length, that nothing but marriage could make her an *honest* woman. The

man applied to his priest to be married; but it being contrary to the Catholic religion for persons to marry when so nearly related, the priest told him that he could not obtain a dispensation from the bishop under 150 dollars. The poor fellow offered 60 dollars, which was all that he was worth in the world, but the priest refused it. The man then applied to the Protestant minister at Three Rivers, who readily offered to marry the Habitant and his cousin, upon paying the customary fees, which did not amount to more than three or four dollars. The banns were accordingly published three Sundays, and the marriage was about to take place, when the French priest, afraid probably of losing both man and money, sent for the Habitant, and told him that he had represented his case to the bishop, who at length agreed to receive the 60 dollars. The man had paid the Protestant minister his fees; but he could not be happy without his own religion, which his priest declared would be renounced by marrying in the Protestant church, and that he never would administer the sacrament to him or his wife if he persisted in his resolution. The poor fellow accordingly parted with every farthing he possessed, and was married to his *first cousin.* This is one of the artifices that has been ingrafted upon the Romish faith, in order to extort money from its votaries. Marriage was even prohibited to the fourteenth degree of relationship. But the

church assumed a power of dispensing with the law; and to such as were able to pay for it, with the exception of parents and children, and some other very near relations, a dispensation was in most cases readily granted.

If the Protestant clergy in Canada were possessed of respectable abilities, and of pleasing manners, their influence would be very extensive among the French Canadians, and it is more than probable that many of them would espouse the Protestant faith; for, as they become enlightened, they perceive the glaring absurdities of many parts of their religion. While I was at Three Rivers, an old man changed his faith, and attended the Protestant church.

The Protestant bishop of Quebec is said to be a man of abilities, and a most eloquent and masterly preacher, but I never had the pleasure of hearing him. His salary is 3,500*l.* per annum, and he preaches *two* sermons annually!

If there are any defects in the Protestant establishment of Canada, they are the defects of its ministers, and not of the religion; though they are such as may be easily remedied, because they spring rather from negligence than wilful errors. But in the Roman Catholic system the defects are in the religion, and not in those who administer it.

Much praise is however due, both to the Pro-

testant and Roman Catholic clergy, inasmuch as they have lived together for a series of years upon the most amicable footing, and have never disturbed the peace of their parishioners by illiberal attacks upon each other's religion: and however they may differ in some points of faith, they have both laboured in their ministry with that gentleness and forbearance, which are the principal features of the religion they profess. I have heard only of one instance where any thing like jealousy has arisen. It occurred at Three Rivers, upon the celebration of Lord Nelson's victory off Trafalgar. The English minister was affronted because the French grand vicar of that town was placed at table on the right hand of the president, and himself on the left. This he considered as a great indignity to the church of England; and, if there had been a printing-press in the town, there is no knowing to what length his zeal might have carried him, and what a furious pamphlet he might have written *in defence of the Protestant religion.* Fortunately there were no *devils* in Three Rivers, so that the grand vicar remained unconscious of the offence he had committed, or the honour he had enjoyed, and the worthy clergyman confined his chagrin within the little circle of his own parishioners.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Aborigines of North America—Domiciliated Indians—Indians of Lorette—French Peculiarities—Groups of Savages—Portrait of the Indians—Squaws—Contrast between the Indians and the Squaws—Dwellings—Chapel at Lorette—Jesuit Missionaries—Indian Dress—Cradle Boards—Encampment at Point Levi—The Female Pugilists—Delivery of the Presents—Indian Chief—Sagacity of the Indians—Wigwams—Bullock's Head—Night Scene—Indian Dance—Pretty Squaws—Distribution of Rum—Passage across the River at Night—Attempts to civilize the Indians—Travels in the Interior—Voyage up the Missouri—Anecdote of a Cree—Indian Population—Presents—Civilization—Degenerated State of the Indians—Wretched Appearance—Indian Prophet.

To enter into a long history and description of the aborigines of North America, would be superfluous in a work like the present, which has chiefly for its object the delineation of the present state and condition of that part of the country and its inhabitants where I travelled; and

where the native Indians are seldom or never met with, except in a degenerated state, and in small societies, widely differing from the tribes situated in the interior of the North American continent. It is therefore unnecessary for me to wander from the arctic circle to Terra del Fuego, from the dog-ribbed Indians to the Patagonians, since very little additional information concerning the aboriginal inhabitants of America can be offered to the public beyond what we have received from so many eminent writers. The state of the Indian tribes in the interior of America is nearly the same as described by the Jesuit missionaries, by Robertson, Raynal, Douglas, and Adair, and by other historians and travellers who have penetratd the American forests, and made themselves acquainted with the manners, customs, and amusements; the maxims of legislation, polity, and warfare of the Indian tribes which are scattered over that immense continent. The remarks, therefore, which I shall have to make upon the Indians will be confined principally to those who are domiciliated in Canada, of whose real condition but little is known, and that little but imperfectly.

The Indians who inhabit Lower Canada are a few wandering tribes near the entrance of the St. Lawrence, and those who reside in the villages of Lorette, Beçancour, St. François, Lake

of the Two Mountains, Cachenonaga, &c. The Indians of Lorette, about three leagues from Quebec, are for the most part descended from a nation which formerly resided in the vicinity of Lake Huron, from whence they take their name. The tribe was at that time very powerful, and joined the Algonquins in their war against the Iroquois; but the latter, by one of those cunning stratagems in which the Indian delights to excel, took the opportunity of entering the Huron village under pretence of forming an alliance with them; and no sooner found themselves in the midst of the unarmed inhabitants, than they commenced a horrid slaughter, sparing neither age, sex, nor condition, and burning every habitation in the village: a few only of the Hurons escaped the general massacre, and fled to the French for protection. The latter seized this favourable opportunity of civilizing these savages, and established them in the village of Lorette, near the capital, under the care of a zealous missionary.

For several years their dwellings were mere huts formed of the branches of trees, covered with birch bark, and they lived nearly in their usual style. But afterwards they laid aside their huts, and erected houses after the French fashion; they also adopted many of the French customs, their modes of dress, &c.; and several Frenchmen

settled among them, which tended still more to accelerate their conversion.

It is a peculiar trait in the character of the French, that they can unbend their dispositions, and assimilate themselves, more than any other people, to the manners and customs of the country where they reside; it is natural to them, whether prompted to it or not by inclination or interest. This accommodating disposition was of much service to the French government; for those individuals who settled among the Indians intermarried with many of the females, and by that means attached them still more closely to the French interest. This was more or less the case in all the settlements which the French government attempted to civilize; and, in consequence, the descendants of these people are at the present day almost wholly of a mixed blood.

It is however remarkable, that the Indians, though so closely allied by intermarriages, have never entered fully into the European mode of living; but follow, with few exceptions, the same indolent and erratic life which distinguished their ancestors. All the domiciliated Indians in Lower Canada employ themselves either in hunting or fishing; or are engaged by the merchants in the North-west fur trade; very few attend much to agriculture: what little corn they raise, is generally cultivated by their wives. Some of them

keep a horse and cart, a cow and a few pigs; but the greatest part of them depend upon fishing and hunting for their subsistence, and often procure a surplus to dispose of at market. The money which they procure from the sale of those articles, or from the furs which they carry to market, is always spent in rum, of which they are extravagantly fond.

I have often stood a considerable time in the market-place at Quebec, admiring the whimsical appearance and gestures of a group of these savages, handing the rum bottle to one another, examining the contents as they put it to their mouths, and then placing the bottle in their bosom under their blanket or coat, where it would not remain three minutes before it was handed about again. During this while they shake hands, laugh loud, and talk vehemently; sometimes brandishing their fists in each other's face in such a menacing attitude that a stranger would fancy they were quarrelling: this, however, does not happen, unless they are very much intoxicated; at other times they appear good-humoured and friendly.

Their external appearance is extremely forbidding, and often disgusting; a dark swarthy countenance, with high cheek bones, prominent nose and chin, and long black coarse hair hanging in disorder over their face. Their lanky limbs sometimes wrapped up in an old ragged coat, dirty

blanket, or tattered shirt, which latter is most commonly their sole covering, and is never taken off, changed, or washed, as long as there is a rag left. Such is the miserable garb and appearance of most of these half-civilized half-savage inhabitants of the Indian villages, who roam about bare-legged and bare-headed, exhibiting a degraded picture of the Indian warrior, whose high-minded pride and spirit have been so much extolled.

The domesticated Indians, wandering about the streets in such dirty, ragged habiliments, which are scarcely sufficient to cover their nakedness, with a bottle of rum in one hand and a raw bullock's head in the other, do not give a stranger a very exalted opinion of the Indian character, which has thus a great resemblance to the outcast race of wandering gipsies. The latter, however, roam about in much better condition, though I believe with less innocent views, than the poor Indians.

The females, or squaws, as they are most commonly called, are in general better dressed, though often very dirty. Some few take a pride in appearing to advantage; and when decorated in all their finery, which among the better sort is sometimes of considerable value, they look very pretty and interesting: they are also more careful than the men of their money, and with the

Vandorn del.

An Indian and his Squaw.

produce of their baskets and toys purchase clothes and victuals instead of rum. It is very seldom that they intoxicate or disgrace themselves as the men too often do. There is a wide and marked difference between the persons and features of the Indians and their squaws. The former are universally tall, large-boned, and long-visaged, with very prominent features. The women, on the contrary, are short, rather small-boned, and possess a round or oval visage, with very pleasing features rather broad than prominent. Their complexions are much alike; and the hair of the women is as black and as coarse as that of the men, but they take more pains with it. They wear it long behind their back, combed smooth, and parted over the forehead.

The contrast between the persons and features of the men and women struck me very forcibly; and I found that these characteristic differences prevailed generally among all the Indians I met with in Canada; nor was any alteration visible between those who were domesticated and those who existed in a rude state.

The females when young are generally pretty, but after twenty-five or thirty they gradually fall off in beauty, and acquire every appearance of premature old age. This early decay seems to be constitutional, or the effect of the climate, rather than the consequence of a laborious life;

for the women in the Indian villages appear more indolent than industrious, and spend more time in sitting idly in their houses than working in the fields. They also prefer sedentary to active employments, and like the making of baskets, moccasins, and other small articles, better than cultivating the field or garden. It does not therefore appear that an early decay is the result only of the laborious avocations in which they are employed: it may perhaps be the case with the uncivilized tribes, whose means of existence are more precarious, and who are more exposed to the vicissitudes of the weather. The constitutions of the women who reside much at home, must however be greatly injured by the constant use of stoves with which they warm their houses and cook their victuals; so that summer and winter they inhale the noxious vapours that continually issue from the wood embers through the crevices of the stove and pipe.

The buildings of the Indian villages correspond with the miserable appearance of their owners. The houses are mere shells, devoid of almost every necessary article of domestic use. A wretched bed in one corner, a stove in the middle, and a few broken utensils scattered about the room, form the whole furniture of an Indian dwelling. The apartments are abominably filthy, and with the broken casements present as

forlorn and repulsive an appearance as the persons of their inhabitants.

There is a chapel in the village of Lorette where mass is performed by the priest under whose care the Indians are placed. They are said to be very attentive to the performance of their religious ceremonies, the service of which appears to make a considerable impression upon them. The Roman Catholic religion is, perhaps, better adapted than any other to catch the attention of untutored savages. The pomp and ceremony with which it is conducted, while it pleases the eye, is calculated to make a more lasting impression on their minds than the plain and simple instruction of the reformed religion. We have sufficient evidence of its efficacy in the success of the Jesuit missionaries, who established themselves in various parts of the American continent, but particularly in Paraguay, where they had gained over an immense number of converts.

This success may, however, be attributed as much to the indefatigable exertions and the genius and abilities of the Jesuits, as to the peculiar advantages of the religion they taught.

On the other hand, our methodists and anabaptists, whatever merit they may deserve for their zeal in the cause of the Gospel, have, it must be confessed, made but little progress among the Pagans in different quarters of the globe where their

missionaries have been sent. Their success has been confined chiefly to the lower classes of civilized society, all of whom have more or less knowledge of revealed religion. But among the American Indians, and the savages who inhabit the islands of the South Sea, their attempts have either entirely failed, or their progress has been very slow.

The greatest part of the Indians in Lower Canada have the wretched appearance before described; a few only, and those are principally chiefs and their families, paint and decorate themselves in a superior manner. No fashionable European can be prouder of his dress than the Indian chief. The clothing which the Indians receive annually consists chiefly of blankets; but cloths of the most gaudy colours are distributed to the chiefs and their families, who also decorate themselves in a profusion of silver or tin ornaments; ear-rings, bracelets, and medals, which they procure either from the government, or from the produce of their furs. The women wear a black beaver hat ornamented with feathers and bands of various-coloured ribbons, to which are attached a number of small silver crosses or other ornaments. Sometimes they wear a curious peaked cap of cloth, very ingeniously worked with coloured elk hair. Their black glossy hair is combed smooth and parted over

their forehead. They wrap themselves up in a mantle, or piece of cloth, of a blue, green, or scarlet colour, bordered at the bottom with broad stripes of yellow and green silk. In warm weather they fasten it round their waist, and in cold weather they put it over their head. They also wear a jacket or shirt of large pattern printed cotton, with a pair of blue or scarlet leggings resembling pantaloons; and their moccasins are curiously worked with elk hair or porcupine quills dyed of various colours. Some of the women paint their faces, and load their persons with a profusion of silver or tin ornaments, beads, and feathers.

The men, when dressed in their best apparel, differ very little from the women, except that they sometimes wear a long coat instead of the cloak or blanket. I have seen four or five rows of silver pieces, resembling the jingles of a tambourine, strung close together, and hanging down from the back of their head to the ground; at the top they were of the size of a dollar, but diminished gradually to the bottom, where they were not larger than a silver three-pence. Their wrists and arms are also ornamented with large silver or tin bracelets, and a collar of the same round the throat. Medals of various sizes are suspended from the neck, and large rings from their ears. They beautify their faces with long

streaks of vermilion, or charcoal, across their forehead and eye-brows, and down their cheeks. They wear a pouch in front, like the Highlanders of Scotland, made of the skin of a small animal, in which they carry their tobacco. The hairy side is turned outwards, and ornamented with beads. Their leggings and moccasins are made of the same materials and the same fashion as those of the women. Knives, sashes, and belts of wampum are indispensable appendages of their dress. The wampum is made of the shell of the clam, and purchased from the people of the United States in considerable quantities by the Indians of the Upper Province, who use wampum belts in all their conferences and meetings. At the end of every harangue, a belt is delivered for the purpose of reminding the parties of what has been said; and as a proof of the excellent memory which the Indians possess, it is said they will remember for years the substance of the discourse that was delivered with each belt.

The women carry their children behind their back: they are wrapped up in swaddling-cloths, and fastened to a flat board, which has a piece of hickory-stick bent over at the top; upon this a piece of cloth is fastened, which covers the child, and preserves it from being plagued by the musquitoes and flies, or scratched by the bushes when going through the woods. This mode of carry-

ing children is well adapted to the wandering life of the Indians, and their fatiguing journeys through the forests. It is also worthy of imitation by soldiers' wives who follow an army during a campaign. On Sunday the Indians are all drest in their gayest apparel; the women then decorate their children upon these cradle boards, with a variety of coloured ribbons and printed cotton cloths. The face of the child is all that is seen, the arms and feet being confined under the bandages and cloths, which are wrapped tight round the body, so that it has a great resemblance to an Egyptian mummy. The practice of confining the feet one over the other is said to create that awkward gait which most of the Indians are subject to, by walking with their toes turned in; others say that it is contracted by their mode of sitting in their canoes.

During the summer, when the annual presents are delivered at Quebec, upwards of 200 Indians are encamped along the opposite shore, as far as Point Levi. They consist chiefly of detachments from the Mickmaks, Chalas, Abenaquis, and other small tribes who inhabit Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the south shore of the St. Lawrence. They stay between three and four months in their encampment, and, after receiving their presents, return to their respective homes. They hunt during the winter, and dispose of

their furs when they go to receive their presents the following summer.

While I remained at Quebec, I had an opportunity of seeing these Indians. They differed very little from those of Lorette, except that they appeared to have less European blood in their veins; but their appearance was equally as filthy and wretched. On the day that the presents were delivered out, about the latter end of August, having heard they were to have a dance in the camp, I went over with two gentlemen of my acquaintance, in order to be present at the entertainment. It was about five o'clock in the afternoon when we arrived on the opposite side of the river, and by that time many of them were intoxicated, among whom were two or three squaws. These ladies were quarrelling and abusing each other most violently, till from altercation they at length proceeded to blows; in a moment the two combatants were down upon the ground, rolling, kicking, and tumbling about in the sand. They held one another fast by the hair, by which means they pinioned their heads together upon the ground; kicking out their legs, and uttering the grossest abuse their tongues could invent. The other women endeavoured to part them, but to no purpose. The men walked about unconcerned, and never interfered with the quarrel, though the women were both married. The

fray had now lasted upwards of an hour, and might have continued till dark if some of them had not applied to the chief to put an end to the disturbance. He accordingly went up, and in the coolest manner ordered the women who surrounded the two amazons to force them asunder, and carry them to their respective tents. The order was immediately complied with, and harmony restored throughout the camp.

The chief was a very respectable-looking man, about 40 years of age, with a countenance and features very much resembling Mr. John Kemble. His figure was noble and majestic, and his complexion much lighter than the generality of the Indians. His disposition seemed to be grave, cool, and deliberate, and perfectly well adapted for the government of the rude, uncivilized race which he had under his charge. We found him busily employed in distributing to the men, women, and children, their share of the presents which had been delivered into his care from the stores at Quebec. A well-dressed Indian stood on one side, and at intervals handed him a pen and ink, with which he wrote down in a pocket-book the articles he delivered out.

It was a curious sight to see the children scampering about in their new blankets, and the squaws dressed out in their new presents, particularly the chief's daughters, who were decorated

in scarlet cloth bordered with yellow and green silk, new black hats and feathers, and a variety of silver bracelets, ear-rings, and trinkets. They were pretty girls, and the slight tinge of rouge with which they had heightened their complexions rendered them highly interesting. The men were more attentive to the rum which had been given them as a treat that day, than to their other presents, and were talking, laughing, and capering about in the most antic manner. They were continually going up to the chief, and teasing him for more of the precious liquor; but he refused them with great good humour, telling them that they had already had too much, and that he must reserve the remainder for the dance.

When they went away, he observed to us, what a pity it was that men should degrade themselves in such a manner by their fondness for liquor! and that he considered a drunken man or woman more despisable than the beasts of the forest, because the latter had no reason to guide them in any thing they did; but men and women had; and they ought to put it to a better use than to stupefy their senses and destroy their constitutions with intoxicating spirits. I was agreeably surprised to hear so sensible an observation from an Indian, because he must have possessed great strength of mind to have resisted that partiality for strong liquors so prevalent among his countrymen, par-

ticularly those who have much intercourse with the European settlements.

He spoke English with great fluency, from which I was led to suppose that he was descended from European parents; but, on inquiry, I learnt that he was a real Indian, though, from his frequent intercourse with the English settlements, he had acquired considerable knowledge and information. I have little doubt, had his understanding and natural genius been properly cultivated, that he would have displayed extraordinary abilities. We had a good deal of conversation with him, and his remarks proved him to be a sensible and sagacious observer of nature. I could not help regretting that such a man should be lost to civilized society, to which he would have done so much credit; and that such an excellent natural genius should be sunk in the petty chieftain of a horde of wild savages.

I was, however, glad of the opportunity of meeting him, as it satisfied my mind concerning the truth of those relations which have been handed down to us by the Jesuit missionaries, and other writers, concerning the sensible and ingenious remarks of the American Indians; many of which are so pertinent and sagacious, that I have been tempted to doubt the veracity of the writers. But this chief, and several other Indians whom I afterwards met with, have completely verified

the truth of their assertions respecting the mental qualifications of those people, though clouded at times by rudeness and barbarism. Those who give themselves up to drunkenness and debauchery, which unfortunately form a great majority, exhibit a depravity of mind, and stupid insensibility, bordering upon a state of brutality. The few who resist the temptation of those odious vices, and preserve their constitutional and mental faculties unimpaired, display such superior talents and virtues, and astonish by such strength of invincible reasoning and argument, that one is almost tempted to doubt the superiority of civilized society over a state of nature.

By the time the chief had delivered out the presents it was dark, and fires were lighted in almost every tent. Many of the Indians with their squaws and children were huddled round the fire, picking some pieces of dried salt fish, or eating soup made of bullock's head, of which they are remarkably fond. They are not very nice in their cooking, and will boil the heads with all the filth and dirt upon them, as they are brought home by the men, who have perhaps laid them down fifty times upon the dirty steps of doors, or on the pavement in Quebec, while they stop to drink with their friends.

The tents or wigwams, under which they sat, or rather squatted, were extremely small, and

formed of a number of sticks placed at proper distances and secured together at the top, leaving a small hole for the smoke to go out at. The sticks were covered from top to bottom with pieces of the birch bark, which, if they had been properly secured, might have afforded a good shelter from the weather; but it was then fine and dry, and the bark was carelessly put on. An opening was left between the sticks on one side for an entrance; but the whole wigwam appeared scarcely sufficient to allow of two men to lie at their ease; yet in many of them there were five or six in a family huddled together, leaving only a little space in the centre for the fire. They burn the birch bark, which gives a good light, and consumes slowly. When they lie down to sleep, they crowd together like a litter of pigs, to keep themselves warm. Even the chief and his family must have followed a similar plan; for his tent was of the same materials, and afforded no better accommodation than the rest: yet his family consisted of a wife, two daughters, a son, and his mother, an old woman whose shrivelled face would have led me to suppose she was ninety years of age, instead of sixty.

About nine o'clock at night the dance commenced, by the light of the birch bark, pieces of which were rolled up in the form of tapers, and held by some of the old squaws who could not

mix with the dancers. A log of wood about eighteen or twenty feet long was placed on the ground. On one end sat a man who rattled a calibash filled with small pebbles, and hummed a sort of monotonous cadence, in which he was joined by the dancers, who were about thirty in number, and moved slowly round the piece of timber in a sort of oblong circle. They followed one after the other, but so crowded, that they had but just room to move their feet, and were in danger every moment of treading upon each other's heels. Men and women were promiscuously intermixed, some in gaudy dresses, others in dirty blankets, and many only in an old ragged shirt that reached but half way down their thighs. The squaws, and some of the men, merely danced along in a sort of shuffling motion; but others moved their limbs violently, clapped their hands, and beat the ground forcibly with their feet. All, however, preserved the most exact time to the monotonous harmony of the calibash and the aspirating cadence of *yo-he-waw*, which they seemed to fetch from the bottom of their breasts. The sameness of this rude species of music was now and then relieved by loud shouts and yells, which, with the extravagant antics and gestures of some of the men, whose brains had been well steeped in rum, together with the exhibition of their swarthy limbs and dishevelled

locks, which hung in wild disorder over their faces, made me at times fancy myself among a crowd of bedlamites.

This entertainment, I was informed, is very different from their war dance, which I never had an opportunity of seeing during my stay in America. Mr. Destimauville, a French gentleman, the agent and interpreter for these Indians, was present with his daughters and several other ladies and gentlemen from Quebec. The Indians are very fond of Mr. Destimauville, whom they have known many years, and to please them, he and his daughters joined in the dance. The young ladies borrowed the scarlet garments of the chief's daughters, together with their hats and feathers; and, having coloured their faces with a tinge of vermilion, shuffled away with a great deal of spirit in the ring of savages who formed the most motley group of human beings I ever beheld. The Misses Destimauvilles made exceeding pretty squaws, and were much admired by the gentlemen present.

The dancing had continued without interruption upwards of two hours, when we applied to the chief to take us across the river to Quebec, as we did not like to trust ourselves at that late hour with the other Indians, most of whom were intoxicated. He promised to take us over immediately after he had given the dancers some rum,

and accordingly brought a large tin kettle full out of his tent; then standing at the head of the ring, he handed a glass full to each Indian, who drank it off, and moved round without interrupting the dance. I noticed that very few of the squaws took it; and in justice to the men, I must say, that though apparently much inebriated, and dancing frequently in extravagant attitudes, yet nothing indelicate, or offensive to modesty, occurred during the time I remained there. The dance probably continued till near day-light; for, if the calibashman or any of the dancers are tired, they leave the ring, and their places are supplied by others.

As soon as the rum had been handed about, the chief put the remainder into his tent, and left his son to guard it till his return. He then lifted his bark canoe upon his head, and carried it to the water side; where having launched it, we all got in, and squatted down at the bottom. The night was extremely dark, and there were several ships lying off the town, which with the strong tide that always sets in there renders the passage frequently very dangerous; but our skilful chief carried us into the *Cul de Sac* without meeting with the least obstruction. Indeed little danger is to be apprehended from the Indians in the management of their canoes, when they are sober, so extremely dexterous are they even in the

roughest weather, when their light and fragile bark floats like a cork upon the surface of the water. It requires, however, that the passengers should squat down, and move neither to the right nor the left, otherwise they will be assuredly upset.

Before the conquest of Canada by the English, the French had made considerable progress in civilizing the Indians, of whom there were upwards of 16,000 in the province. At the conclusion of the war their numbers were reduced to 7,400; since which, they have continued to diminish, and at the present day the number of domiciliated Indians in Lower Canada does not exceed 2000. The rest of the Indian tribes within the boundaries of Christian population in British America retain but a small glimpse of the religion which the Jesuit missionaries took such pains to implant in them: the attention which is at present paid them by the British government, and the annual presents that are distributed, are merely for the purpose of preserving their friendship, and not for improving either their moral or political condition. The United States, on the contrary, have passed several laws, empowering the president to promote civilization among the Indians by distributing useful domestic animals, implements of husbandry, money, and goods, as he should think proper; and to prevent or re-

strain at pleasure the vending and distributing of spirituous liquors among all or any of the Indian tribes. An ordinance similar to this was passed by the governor and council of Quebec in 1777, but was never properly acted upon, and is now totally neglected.

Mr. Jefferson, indeed, seems to have paid particular attention, during his administration, to cultivate the esteem and affection of the Indian nations on the borders of the United States; and he has been successful both in improving their condition and gaining their friendship. The philosophical spirit of the president, and of the leading men in the government, is no doubt well adapted to such pursuits; and we find that they have rendered their talents subservient to the public interest. Within the last four or five years they have pushed their discoveries through the interior of the North American continent to the shores of the Pacific Ocean, and have explored that immense tract at the back of their territory, which appears likely to belong to them by the purchase of Louisiana; for at present the boundaries are not definitively settled. The example of Sir Alexander M'Kenzie most probably stimulated them to such an undertaking, though his travels have not afforded much additional information to the stock we before possessed. They were undertaken more for mercantile than philo-

sophical views, yet are highly meritorious, as the exertions of an individual unaided by government.

The discoveries of Captains Lewis and Clark up the Missouri have but very lately been published by those gentlemen. The other accounts are by individuals employed in that expedition, whose information with regard to the inhabitants, natural history, &c. must necessarily be very imperfect. Some letters from Captain Lewis and Messrs. Sibly and Dunbar, at the commencement of the journey, were laid before Congress, and have been since printed: they contain many interesting particulars of the Indian tribes in Louisiana, some of which are numerous, and others consisting of only eight or ten persons. Many have totally disappeared within the last fifty years, leaving behind them no other vestige of their having existed than their name, which is possibly preserved by a river, or the tract of land which they occupied. This great depopulation of the Indian nations is common in many parts of the American continent, more especially among those who have intercourse with the European settlements, from whence they procure spirituous liquors, or catch a variety of diseases of which the small-pox has proved the most fatal. Many nations have been totally exterminated by that disease alone; and when I was in Canada in the

spring of 1808, a village of Mississagas, residing near Kingston in the Upper Province, was nearly depopulated by the small-pox; not more than twenty escaped out of five hundred. The cow-pox has been but partially introduced, and very few of the Indians have been inoculated with it. It is rather singular, that such an admirable preventive of the variolous disease should have been so much neglected in America, where the latter commits such dreadful ravages.

The more remote tribes appear also to decrease very rapidly: their irregular mode of living, in which they will sometimes fast for days, and afterwards eat enormously; their constant exposure to all the vicissitudes of the climate, and the barbarous practice of destroying a considerable portion of their offspring by abortion, or taking away the lives of such as are sickly and deformed, must tend greatly to the decrease of their population. Their passion for the females is also of that cool, phlegmatic temperament, that their wives do not often labour under "*the pleasing punishment that women bear*," and the laborious lives which most of them lead are also but little calculated to promote the tender passion. The men and women of some of the tribes have a singular method of administering relief to each other when indisposed, as will appear by the following anecdote, extracted from a manuscript

journal of travels across the rocky mountains of the North-west in 1801.

"June 11th, our guide, a Cree, whose spirits had visibly begun to droop ever since we entered the defiles of the mountains, was last night presented by Mr. ——— with some rum, to keep him hearty in the cause: upon this he made shift to get drunk with his wife. This morning he complained that his head and stomach were out of order, and asked for a little medicine; which was given him: but finding it did him neither good nor harm, he called his wife to him, where he was sitting amidst us at a large fire we had made to warm ourselves. She readily came: he asked her if she had a sharp flint; and upon her replying she had not, he broke one, and made a lancet of it, with which he opened a vein in his wife's arm, she assisting him with great good-will. Having drawn about a pint of blood from her, in a wooden bowl, to our astonishment he applied it to his mouth quite warm, and drank it off; then he mixed the blood that adhered to the vessel with water, by way of cleansing the bowl, and also drank that off. While I was considering the savageness of this action, one of our men, with indignation, exclaimed to our guide: "I have eaten and smoked with thee, but henceforward thou and I shall not smoke and eat together. What, drink warm from the vein the blood of thy

wife!"—"Oh, my friend," said the Indian, "have I done wrong? When I find my stomach out of order, the warm blood of my wife, in good health, refreshes the whole of my body, and puts me to rights: in return, when she is not well, I draw blood from my arm; she drinks it, and it gives her life; all our nation do the same, and they all know it to be a good medicine."

About twenty years ago, the number of warriors, or fighting men, belonging to all the North American tribes hitherto discovered, was calculated at 60,000, and the total number of souls at 500,000. Since then many of those nations have decreased, and others have been totally annihilated. As the European inhabitants of America augment, the original natives diminish, and in the course of time, they will most probably become extinct. The Indian warrior will then be known only in name, or be faintly traced in the diluted blood of his civilized posterity. This annihilation of the native Indians will be brought about more by their precarious mode of living, the extravagant use of strong liquors, and disease, than by civilization or intermarriage with the Europeans; though the settling of the latter among them must ever be considered as the sole cause of their present diminution and ultimate extinction.

Except in the Jesuit settlement of Paraguay,

little progress has been made in their conversion either from paganism or barbarism. Of the nature of that settlement little more is known, than that it consisted of an immense population yielding obedience to the Jesuits, who erected a commonwealth among the Indians, and trained them to agriculture, commerce, and the arts. In North America the European governments have been less successful; a few tribes only have of late years been brought to forsake their erratic and precarious life, for the more certain and domestic one of agriculture. These people live chiefly in the territory of the United States, whose government has been indefatigable in its endeavours to make them *men* as well as *Christians*.

In the British settlements of Upper and Lower Canada, less attention seems to have been paid to their civilization and conversion, than to maintain their friendship and alliance for political purposes. Large sums are yearly expended in presents, which the Indians receive more as their right than as a favour. They are well aware that the government gives them those things only to secure their services in case of war with the United States; they therefore consider themselves under no obligation, but look upon the presents as a retaining fee, which, like that given to a counsellor, is to keep them on the side of the donor in case of necessity; and whenever the gift

falls short of their expectations, they exhibit their dissatisfaction in an unequivocal manner. They will often assume a threatening tone upon those occasions; which proves the precarious tenure upon which their adherence to us is founded, and how little reliance can be placed on them, in the event of hostilities between England and the United States.

It would be therefore more to the interest of the British provinces, were the government to follow the judicious and liberal policy of the United States; which, by civilizing and converting the Indians, and establishing them in well-organized settlements, meliorates their condition, and attaches them more closely to the interest of the country in which they reside. They would thus become settled and domesticated; and by attending to agricultural pursuits, under proper instructors, they would procure the comforts of life, and realize property, which they would not afterwards be willing to quit for a precarious existence in the woods, or ruinous and destructive warfare. If they ever did take up the tomahawk, it would be *to defend their property*, and not for the purpope of procuring *scalps*.

It may be said, that there are already several domiciliated villages of Indians in Upper and Lower Canada; but that they still prefer their wild and roving life; and, except when they

return from the chase to sell their furs, few of them ever inhabit their dwellings. This is certainly true; but the proper steps have never been taken to create in those savages a domestic spirit. The French government, it must be confessed, was more successful in its attempts than the British has been. The Jesuit missionaries were, as in South America, possessd of all the zeal and ability necessary for accomplishing so important an object, and at the period of the conquest had made considerable progress in collecting together several tribes, and converting them to Christianity. From the exertions they displayed in this political as well as religious object of the French government, it may be inferred they would have proceeded with equal talents, and allowing for the difference of views, perhaps with as much success, as their brethren in Paraguay, had not a long and destructive warfare, succeeded by the loss of the colony, disappointed their hopes and expectations.

The Jesuits, whose order as it then existed under the regulation of the British government, was to cease with the life of the last of that body, naturally lost their enthusiasm in the cause of a government which had determined upon their annihilation, and consequently neglected the important objects that had before occupied their attention. From that period, the domiciliated Indians, whose number had been lessened more

than one-half by the war, were little thought of. It was conceived to be enough, if their *souls* were saved by a Roman Catholic priest, and their *nakedness* covered by a few Protestant blankets. Their political, civil, and moral condition, their manners, customs, habits, and disposition, were left to their own care and management. It is not surprising, therefore, that at the conclusion of the war, instead of returning to their agricultural and domestic pursuits, they launched out again into their former erratic and savage life. Their children, whose education was consequently neglected, followed the footsteps of their parents, and fell into the same barbarous vices and debauchery.

In this degenerated state we find all the inhabitants of the Indian villages in Lower Canada at the present day. Instead of following agriculture, commerce, and the arts, they roam the woods in search of a precarious subsistence. The flesh of the animals which they kill in the chase serves them for food, and the skins to procure rum. They visit the villages, and the adjacent towns, for no other purpose than to dispose of their furs, and get drunk with their favourite beverage. At those periods they will perhaps attend with their families at chapel, dressed in their best clothes, on Sundays; when they will kneel, cross themselves, and sing hymns in the Indian language, with apparent devotion; but the

rest of the week they give themselves up to savage amusements, to indolence, and inebriation. They may then be seen in groups, rambling through the streets half naked, and in a continual state of drunkenness; exhibiting an emaciated, wretched, and forlorn appearance, equally disgraceful to civilized society, and the government under which they live. They are a living reproach to the European inhabitants, who, in taking possession of their country, have introduced among them disease, vice, and wretchedness, instead of Christian virtue, civilization, and happiness: and were it not for the inscrutable measures of Divine Providence, in which good often arises out of evil, the discovery of America might be deplored, as a circumstance that had entailed upon the inhabitants, both of the old and new hemispheres, more misfortunes than blessings.

CHAPTER XIX.

Face of Lower Canada—Mountain of Quebec—Black Lime Slate—Minerals—Mineral Springs—Rock Stones—Remarkable Earthquake of 1663*—Particulars translated from the French Jesuits' Journal—Dreadful Night—Sickness and Giddiness of the Head—Wreck of Nature—Forests overturned—Springs choked up—Rivers lost—Violent Shocks—Mountains swallowed up—General Devastation—New Lakes and Islands—Three extraordinary Circumstances—Wonderful Preservation—Extraordinary Protection of Divine Providence—Natural Curiosities—Falls of Saguenay—Montmorency and Chaudiere—An Excursion up the River—Through the Woods—Melancholy Accident—Anecdote of two young Ladies—Arrival at the Falls of Chaudiere—The Cataract—Return to Quebec—Rapids of Richlieu—Cascades—Rapids of the Cedars.*

The face of Lower Canada is remarkably bold and striking. The noble river St. Lawrence, flowing more than 400 miles between high lands and lofty mountains, sometimes divided into channels by large islands, and at other times inter-

sected by clusters of small ones; numerous rapid streams rolling from the neighbouring mountains, breaking over steep precipices, and mingling their waters with the grand river; its bold and rugged shores, lofty eminences, and sloping valleys, covered with the umbrageous foliage of immense forests, or interspersed with the cultivated settlements of the inhabitants, present altogether to the eye of the spectator a succession of the most sublime and picturesque objects that imagination can conceive.

Beyond the Rapids of Richlieu, which are situated about 400 miles from the entrance of the St. Lawrence, the country assumes a more level aspect: the mountains retire to the north and south as far as the eye can reach, leaving all that part of Canada extending to the south-west and north-east an almost interminable flat. Frozen oceans, gulfs, and bays; immense lakes and wildernesses, diversified at times by chains of enormous mountains, constitute the features of the remaining part of the British settlements in North America, which extend from the coast of Labrador to the sea of Kamtschatka and the Pacific Ocean; and to the northward, beyond the Arctic Circle.

The mountain on which Quebec is built, and the high lands for several miles along the St. Lawrence, consist chiefly of black lime slate. A

few mountains in the neighbourhood are composed of a gray stone; but they for the most part stand on a bed of lime slate. About a yard from the surface, this slate is quite compact, and without any cracks, so that one cannot perceive it is a slate, its laminæ being imperceptible. It lies in strata, which vary from three or four to twenty inches thick and upwards. In Quebec the strata lie in some parts diagonally, in others almost perpendicular, but none horizontally; and bear every mark of having been violently agitated by some convulsion of nature, which must have shaken the mountain to its very foundation. Whether or not it lost its horizontal direction by the earthquake of 1663, I have never been able to ascertain.

In the unpaved streets of Quebec this slaty stone strikes out in corners at the surface, and injures the shoes extremely. The narrow crevices between the shivers, which are very thin, are commonly filled with a fibrous white gypsum: the larger cracks are, in particular parts of the rock, filled up with the transparent quartz crystals which I have before mentioned. The largest I have met with were about two inches in length, and three or four in circumference; but, in general, they are extremely small, and many resemble well cut polished diamonds. A sort of black or gray spar is also frequently met with in the

rock. Most of the old houses are built of the lime slate; but it shivers into thin pieces on the outside, after being exposed to the air for some time: the masons, however, have a particular manner of placing the pieces of stone, which prevents them from cracking, except a little on the outside. The new public buildings, fortifications, and many of the private houses belonging to the gentry at Quebec, have of late years been built with the gray stone, which has a light and handsome appearance, and is of a more durable nature.

The mountains and high lands in the vicinity of Quebec, and for many miles below, consist of different species of the lime slate, and of the gray rock or limestone, more or less impregnated with gray and black glimmer and quartz, fibrous gypsum, and pierre au calumet. The latter has received its name from the French, who, as well as the Indians, frequently use it for the heads of their calumets or tobacco pipes. It is a limestone of rather a soft though compact texture, and may be cut with a knife.

Iron, copper, and lead ore are found in different parts of Lower Canada, though not to any very great extent. Iron is most abundant, and has been discovered chiefly on the north side of the St. Lawrence, about Batiscan and Three Rivers. It was formerly believed that a silver mine existed

near St. Paul's Bay, about 54 miles below Quebec, on the north shore, several pieces of ore having been discovered, which resembled that metal: it has since been found to consist only of lead, which lies in veins in a mountain of gray stone.

No very important discoveries have hitherto been made in the mineral world of Lower Canada; though in that, as well as in every other branch of natural history, there is sufficient, in that country, to occupy the attention of the philosopher. Some mineral springs have been discovered in different parts of the province: one or two were found in the neighbourhood of Three Rivers, but are now either lost or remain unnoticed. Another was discovered in the suburb of St. John, just without the walls of Quebec: this has been kept open for several years, and belongs to an old French woman, who has a small house adjoining it. Many of the gentry, I understand, walk out to this house in the summer about six o'clock in the morning, and drink the waters, which are reckoned extremely salubrious: they are almost tasteless, but have a very unpleasant sulphureous smell.

Several excellent springs of fresh water gush out of various parts of the rock. The inhabitants, however, chiefly use the river water, though it is not reckoned very healthful in winter. I do not recollect seeing a pump at Quebec, nor of

hearing that there is one in the town; yet wells might be easily dug in the rock, and water might be obtained in many places for the use of the people, where it now runs to waste. The water is conveyed in barrels from the river to all parts of the Upper and Lower towns by the carters, who charge sixpence or eightpence per barrel according to the distance.

In different parts of the country, and particularly the vicinity of Quebec, are to be found stones of various shapes and sizes lying scattered in the fields, meadows, and plains. Some of them measure nine or ten feet in circumference, and from three to four feet high; but I have met with many considerably larger. They are mostly of a gray colour, round shaped, and of a very close and hard substance, impregnated with black, red, and white glimmer and spar. They lie upon the soil, having no connexion with any rock or bed of stone; and a person cannot view them without asking himself the question, How, and in what manner, came such large masses of stone there? It was upon one of these stones that General Wolfe is said to have breathed his last.

The earthquake of 1663 was one of the most remarkable phænomena that has happened in North America, or perhaps any part of the globe, within the memory of man. It continued

upwards of six months, with more or less violence, during which period it overturned a chain of free-stone mountains in Upper Canada of more than 300 miles in length, and levelled it with the plain. In Lower Canada it caused several rivers to change their course; and the mountains in the vicinity, and for several miles below Quebec, were split and rent in a most extraordinary manner; several were overturned, or swallowed up, and some were even lifted from their foundations and plunged into the rivers, where they afterwards became islands. To the northward of Quebec there is a mountain which has every appearance of having been a volcano. Its summit is covered with seven or eight inches of mossy substance, under which are stones consisting principally of granite impregnated with iron ore, and blackened by the effects of fire. The stones which are most burnt do not lie at the summit, but at a certain depth, and there arises a warm vapour from the spot, sufficient to melt the snow as it falls. It is singular that no crater has been hitherto discovered, though, from the appearance of the stones, there is no doubt of one having formerly existed: it was, most probably, filled up or totally destroyed by the earthquake.

As the particulars of that remarkable event are little known, and have never yet, I believe, been published in the English language, I have made a

translation from the journal of the French Jesuits of Quebec, an extract of which I procured in that city. The account was written soon after the earthquake had ceased, and is remarkable for the antiquity of its language and orthography. The effects of that unprecedented event are described in rather glowing colours, as might naturally be expected from the people who witnessed them, and whose imaginations were yet heated with such dreadful scenes, and the alarming sensations they must have produced. But there does not appear to be any exaggeration of the facts, which are strongly corroborated by the appearance of the mountains and rivers at the present day.

EARTHQUAKE OF 1663.

'It was on the 5th of February, 1663, about half-past five o'clock in the evening, that a great rushing noise was heard throughout the whole extent of Canada. This noise caused the people to run out of their houses into the streets, as if their habitations had been on fire; but instead of flames and smoke, they were surprised to see the walls reeling backwards and forwards, and the stones moving as if they had been detached from each other. The bells sounded by the repeated shocks. The roofs of the buildings bent down, first on one side, and then on the other. The timbers, rafters, and planks cracked. The earth

trembled violently, and caused the stakes of the palisades and palings to dance, in a manner that would have been incredible had we not actually seen it in several places.

'It was at this moment that every one ran out of doors. Then were to be seen animals flying in all directions; children crying and screaming in the streets; men and women, seized with affright, stood horror struck with the dreadful scene before them, unable to move, and ignorant where to fly for refuge from the tottering walls and trembling earth, which threatened every instant to crush them to death, or sink them into a profound and immeasurable abyss.

'Some threw themselves on their knees in the snow, crossing their breasts, and calling upon their saints to relieve them from the dangers with which they were surrounded. Others passed the rest of this dreadful night in prayer; for the earthquake ceased not, but continued at short intervals with a certain undulating impulse resembling the waves of the ocean; and the same qualmish sensation, or sickness at the stomach, was felt during the shocks as is experienced in a vessel at sea.

'The violence of the earthquake was greatest in the forests, where it appeared as if there was a battle raging between the trees; for not only their branches were destroyed, but even their trunks are said to have been detached from their places,

and dashed against each other with inconceivable violence and confusion; so much so, that the Indians, in their figurative manner of speaking, declared that all the forests were *drunk*.

'The war also seemed to be carried on between the mountains; some of which were torn from their beds, and thrown upon others, leaving immense chasms in the places from whence they had issued, and the very trees with which they were covered sunk down, leaving only their tops above the surface of the earth: others were completely overturned, their branches buried in the earth, and the roots only remained above ground.

'During this general wreck of nature, the ice, upwards of six feet thick, was rent and thrown up in large pieces; and from the openings in many parts there issued thick clouds of smoke, or fountains of dirt and sand, which spouted up to a very considerable height. The springs were either choked up, or impregnated with sulphur. Many rivers were totally lost; others were diverted from their course, and their waters entirely corrupted. Some of them became *yellow*, others *red*, and the great river of St. Lawrence appeared entirely *white*, as far down as Tadoussac. This extraordinary phænomenon must astonish those who know the size of the river, and the immense body of water in various parts, which must have required such an abundance of matter to whiten it.

'They write from Montreal, that during the earthquake they plainly saw the stakes of the picketing, or palisades, jump up, as if they had been dancing; that of two doors in the same room, one opened and the other shut of their own accord; that the chimneys and tops of the houses bent like the branches of trees agitated by the wind; that when they went to walk, they felt the earth following them, and rising at every step they took; sometimes striking against the sole of the foot and other things, in a very forcible and surprising manner.

'From Three Rivers they write, that the first shock was the most violent, and commenced with a noise resembling thunder. The houses were agitated in the same manner as the tops of trees during a tempest, with a noise as if fire was crackling in the garrets.

'The first shock lasted half an hour, or rather better, though its greatest force was properly not more than a quarter of an hour; and we believe there was not a single shock which did not cause the earth to open more or less. As for the rest, we have remarked, that though this earthquake continued almost without intermission, yet it was not always of an equal violence. Sometimes it was like the pitching of a large vessel which dragged heavily at her anchors; and it was this motion which occasioned many to have a giddi-

ness in their heads, and qualmishness at their stomachs. At other times the motion was hurried and irregular, creating sudden jerks, some of which were extremely violent; but the most common was a slight tremulous motion, which occurred frequently, with little noise.

'Many of the French inhabitants and Indians, who were eye-witnesses to the scene, state, that a great way up the river of 'Trois Rivières,' about eighteen miles below Quebec, the hills which bordered the river on either side, and which were of a prodigious height, were torn from their foundations, and plunged into the river, causing it to change its course, and spread itself over a large tract of land recently cleared: the broken earth mixed with the waters, and for several months changed the colour of the great river St. Lawrence, into which that of 'Trois Rivières' disembogued itself.

'In the course of this violent convulsion of nature, lakes appeared where none ever existed before; mountains were overthrown, swallowed up by the gaping earth, or precipitated into adjacent rivers, leaving in their place frightful chasms or level plains. Falls and rapids were changed into gentle streams, and gentle streams into falls and rapids. Rivers in many parts of the country sought other beds, or totally disappeared. The earth and the mountains were violently split and

rent in innumerable places, creating chasms and precipices whose depths have never yet been ascertained. Such devastation was also occasioned in the woods, that more than a thousand acres in our neighbourhood were completely overturned; and where, but a short time before, nothing met the eye but one immense forest of trees, now were to be seen extensive cleared lands apparently just turned up by the plough.

'At Tadoussac (about 150 miles below Quebec on the north shore) the effect of the earthquake was not less violent than in other places; and such a heavy shower of volcanic ashes fell in that neighbourhood, particularly in the River St. Lawrence, that the waters were as violently agitated as during a tempest.

'Near St. Paul's Bay (about 50 miles below Quebec, on the north shore) a mountain about a quarter of a league in circumference, situated on the shore of the St. Lawrence, was precipitated into the river: but, as if it had only made a plunge, it rose from the bottom, and became a small island, forming, with the shore, a convenient harbour well sheltered from all winds. Lower down the river, towards Point Alloüettes, an entire forest of considerable extent was loosened from the main land, and slid into the river St. Lawrence, where the trees took fresh root in the water.

'There are three circumstances, however, which have rendered this extraordinary earthquake particularly remarkable. The *first* is its *duration*, it having continued from February to August, that is to say, *more than six months almost without intermission!* It is true, the shocks were not always equally violent. In several places, as towards the mountains behind Quebec, the thundering noise and trembling motion continued successively for a considerable time. In others, as towards Tadoussac, the shocks continued generally for two or three days at a time with much violence.

'The *second* circumstance relates to the *extent* of this earthquake, which we believe was universal throughout the whole of New France, for we learn that it was felt from L'Isle Percée and Gaspé, which are situated at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, to beyond Montreal*, as also in New England, Acadia, and other places more remote. As far as it has come to our knowledge, this earthquake extended more than 600 miles in length and about 300 in breadth. Hence, 180,000 square miles of land were convulsed on the same day, and at the same moment.

'The *third* circumstance (which appears the

* It appears from this, that the Jesuits at Quebec had not *then* received any account of the devastation which the earthquake had committed in Upper Canada, and of course were unacquainted with its real extent.

most remarkable of all) regards the extraordinary protection of Divine Providence, which has been extended to us, and our habitations; for we have seen near us the large openings and chasms which the earthquake occasioned, and the prodigious extent of country which has been either totally lost or hideously convulsed, *without our losing either man, woman, or child, or even having a hair of their head touched.*'

Few natural curiosities are to be found in Lower Canada, except rapids, cascades, and falls. Among the latter, those of Saguenay, Montmorency, and Chaudiere are the chief. The river Saguenay is situated about the entrance of the St. Lawrence on the north shore, and the falls are about 90 miles up the river. They are 50 feet high, and remarkable for the immense sheet of water which breaks over the rocks, and precipitates itself with amazing velocity into the River St. Lawrence, where it causes a strong eddy or current that frequently carries a vessel out of its course.

The fall of Montmorency, which is situated about eight miles to the north-east of Quebec, derives its elegant and majestic appearance more from its height than from the body of water that flows over the precipice. According to the most accurate computation, it is 250 feet high and 80 feet wide. Its breadth is, however, increased or

diminished, according to the quantity of water supplied by the river, which is a narrow stream and in many parts extremely shallow. In spring and autumn, when the melting of the snow, or much rain, swells the current, the fall is increased, and is seen at those periods to great advantage. In winter but a small portion of the fall is visible, in consequence of the cones of ice which are formed by the rising spray, and intercept the view, nearly half way up.

The river Montmorency falls between a large cleft in the mountain, which appears to have been formed by the shock of an earthquake. The waters thus precipitate themselves into a kind of basin, upwards of 300 yards wide, many parts of which are fordable towards the entrance at low water; but under the fall there is an immense chasm. The mountain consists of the black lime slate, which as it becomes exposed to the air continually moulders away. Near the summit of the falls, the banks of the cleft are ornamented with a variety of shrubs, fir-trees, and other evergreens, whose dark foliage forms an agreeable contrast to the snowy whiteness of the fall, and gives to the *tout ensemble* a pleasing and romantic appearance. The fall of Montmorency has, however, more of the elegant and beautiful in it, than of the "awfully grand, or wonderfully sublime."

While I remained at Quebec, I took the op-

portunity of visiting the falls of Chaudiere, which in my opinion are far superior to that of Montmorency. They are situated about nine miles above Quebec on the opposite shore, and about three or four miles back from the river St. Lawrence, into which the river Chaudiere disembogues itself. The excursion to Chaudiere was accompanied with much more difficulty than that to Montmorency, being obliged to penetrate upwards of five miles through a thick wood, in which the path was not discernible without a guide.

Accompanied by Mr. Hawdon, the present storekeeper-general of the Indian department, and Lieutenant Burke of the 100th regiment, I left Quebec one fine morning in the month of August, 1807, in a birch canoe, conducted by two Indians from the opposite camp. We had applied to our friend the chief for his services; but he being busily engaged in the camp, he recommended two young Indians of the Mickmack tribe, who were brothers, as very steady sober characters: we hired them, and had no reason to repent it, for they behaved extremely well, and during the whole day would drink nothing but water. The eldest, who was not more than 25, declared his abhorrence of all spirituous liquors, and assured us, that neither he nor his brother ever accustomed themselves to take any. By this I perceived they had adopted the excellent

example of their chief; and I mention this trait in the Indian character as a very great novelty; so extremely rare is it to meet with any who do not give themselves up to inebriation. The eldest Indian spoke English remarkably well. He resided, he said, near St. John's in New Brunswick, and passed the greatest part of his time in that town. He seemed to be possessed of as much modesty as sobriety; for our friend Burke, having joked him rather freely about lying in the same tent with the young squaws, he became very serious, and told him that it was not good to talk of such things. The manner in which we sat in the canoe was curious enough to an European accustomed to boats with good seats in them. The youngest Indian knelt down at the head of the canoe, and paddled either on the right or left, as the current required. Mr. Hawdon sat next at the bottom, with his legs extended. I sat as close to him as possible, with my legs on each side of him; and Lieutenant Burke behind me, with his legs extended on my sides. The other Indian knelt down in the stern of the canoe, and with his paddle steered or impelled it forward.

Having arrived at a small bay, into which the river Chaudiere empties itself, and mingles its waters with those of the St. Lawrence, we disembarked, hauled the canoe upon the beach, and proceeded up a steep cliff that led to the house

of the guide, which was situated about a mile in the wood. This part of the country is but thinly settled by the Canadians; and from the rough state of their farms, and the half cleared lands adjoining, it has a wild romantic appearance.

We found the guide at home; and followed by our two Indians, who were also desirous of seeing the falls, we entered a very narrow path in a thick wood composed of almost every species and variety of trees and shrubs. The season of the year was well adapted for our excursion, as the musquito, sand-flies, and other disagreeable insects, had all disappeared; the cold mornings and evenings having palsied their limbs, and driven them into their retreats. The plums, blackberries, raspberries, and other wild fruit, though nearly on the decline, were yet in considerable abundance, and often tempted some of our party to stop and gather them. Fortunately, none of us ever lost sight of our guide, or the consequences might have been fatal.

A melancholy instance of this occurred a few years ago, in which the captain of a ship, who had accompanied a party to see the falls, was lost in the woods on his return home, and perished! It is supposed that he had stopped behind to gather fruit, by which means he lost sight of the rest of the company, who had gone on before with the guide. As soon as they

missed him, they shouted and hollaed as loud as they could, but to no purpose; they then turned back a considerable way, but could neither see nor hear any thing of him. The next day parties of Indians were dispatched in all directions, but they returned with as little success; and it was not till some months afterwards that his skeleton was found, by which it appeared that he had wandered a mile or two from the right path, which is so extremely narrow as to admit only one person to walk along at a time, and therefore easily missed.

It is a dangerous experiment to wander carelessly in the woods in Canada without a guide, or a sufficient acquaintance with the paths; and instances have occurred of people perishing even within a small distance of their own habitations. A few years ago two young ladies who were on a visit at the house of Mr. Nicholas Montour, formerly of the North-west Company, and who then resided at Point du Lac, near Three Rivers, strolled into the woods at the back of the house one morning after breakfast, for the purpose of regaling themselves with the strawberries and other fruit which grew abundantly there, and were then in great perfection. One of them had an amusing novel in her hand, which she read to the other; and so interested were they with the story, and the scenery around them, that they never thought

of returning to dinner. In this manner they strolled delightfully along, sometimes wrapt up in the charms of the novel, and at other times stopping to gather the fruit which lay luxuriantly scattered beneath their feet, or hung in clusters over their heads, when the declining sun at length warned them that it was late in the afternoon. They now began to think of returning; but unfortunately they had wandered from the path, and knew not which way to go. The sun, which an hour before might have afforded them some assistance, was now obscured by the lofty trees of the forest; and as the evening closed in, they found themselves yet more bewildered.

In the most distracted state they wandered about among the shrubs and underwood of the forest, wringing their hands, and crying most bitterly at their melancholy situation. Their clothes were nearly torn off their backs; and their hair hung in a dishevelled manner upon their necks. In this wretched condition they wandered till nearly dark, when they came up to a small hut: their hearts beat high at the sight, but it was empty! They were, however, glad to take refuge in it for the night, to shelter them from the heavy dews of the forest which were then falling. They collected a quantity of leaves, with which they made a bed, and lay down: but they could not sleep, and spent the night in unavailing

tears and reproaches at their own carelessness. They however at times endeavoured to console each other with the hope that people would be dispatched by Mr. Montour in search of them. The next morning, therefore, they wisely kept within the hut, or went out only to gather fruit to satisfy the cravings of appetite. Towards the close of the day they heard the Indian yell in the woods, but were afraid to call out, or stir from the hut, not knowing whether they might be sent in search of them, or were a party of strange Indians into whose hands they did not like to trust themselves.

A second night was passed in the same forlorn state; though, singular as it may appear, one of them became more composed, and, in some measure, even reconciled to her situation; which, deplorable as it was, and uncertain when they might be relieved from it, she regarded as a romantic adventure, and the following morning, with great composure, staid in the hut and read her novel: the other, however, gave herself up to despair, and sat upon the bed of leaves, crying and bewailing her unhappy fate. In this state they were discovered about noon by a party of Indians, who had been sent out after them, and whose yell had been heard by the young ladies the preceding evening. Their joy at being relieved from such an alarming situation may be

more easily conceived than described, and was only equalled by the pleasure which their return gave to Mr. Montour and his family, who had almost given them up as lost, having been absent nearly three days, and wandered several miles from the house.

To return to our excursion: we proceeded through the forest as fast as the small shrubs and brushwood which obstructed the path would permit; and I often got some severe cuts in my face with the boughs that sprung back, as those before me pushed them aside. Sometimes when I thought I was stepping upon the substantial trunk of a large tree, that had fallen across the path, I have sunk knee deep in dust and rotten wood; at other times I was over my boots in a swamp or a rivulet, which we were often obliged to wade through. At length, after a fatiguing walk of an hour, we arrived at the falls, which I must confess amply repaid me for my trouble. The season had been dry, and there was less water in the river than usual; but so far from lessening the beauty of the falls, they appeared to me to be exhibited to more advantage than when the vast fragments of rock, which now appeared in sight, were enveloped by a large body of water.

The river is seen at a distance, emerging from a thick wood, and gradually expanding from an almost imperceptible stream, till it reaches the

cataract, whose breadth is upwards of 360 feet. Here the disordered masses of rock, which appear to have been rent from their bed by some violent convulsion of nature, break the course of the waters, and precipitate them from a height of 120 feet into an immense chasm below. In some parts large sheets of water roll over the precipice, and fall unbroken to the bottom; while in other places the water dashes from one fragment of the rock to another, with wild impetuosity, bellowing and foaming with rage in every hollow and cavity that obstructs its progress: from thence it rushes down with the rapidity of lightning into the boiling surge beneath, where it rages with inconceivable fury, till, driven from the gulf by fresh columns, it hurries away and loses itself in the waters of the St. Lawrence.

The cataract of Chaudiere may be truly said to form a complete whole. The scenery which accompanies it is beautiful and romantic beyond description. In the centre a large fragment of rock, which first divides the water at the summit of the precipice, forms a sort of small island; and a handsome fir-tree which grows upon it is thus placed in a most singular and picturesque situation. The forest on either side the river consists of firs, pines, birch, oak, ash, and a variety of other trees and shrubs intermingled in the most wild and romantic manner. Their dark green foliage,

joined with the brown and sombre tint of the rocky fragments over which the water precipitates itself, forms a striking and pleasing contrast to the snowy whiteness of the foaming surge, and the columns of sparkling spray which rise in clouds and mingle with the air.

The gratification on viewing this beautiful cataract is considerably enhanced by the journey which the spectator is obliged to take through a wild and gloomy forest; the toil of which is amply repaid when he emerges all at once from Cimmerian darkness into an expansive view of the falls and the light of heaven. It appears like a sudden enchantment, and the imagination is lost in the variety and grandeur of the scene. I could have contemplated it for hours; but our time was short, and we wished to return to Quebec before dark. I quitted this beautiful and romantic spot with the greatest reluctance; regretting that in all probability I should never see it again.

We returned back with our guide; and having launched the canoe, we embarked for Quebec, where we arrived about nine o'clock, it being then nearly dark.

There are some smaller cataracts in other parts of Lower Canada, but they do not merit any particular description. I regretted that no opportunity offered, while I remained in America, of visiting the celebrated Falls of Niagara. Could

I have staid in Canada last winter, my friend Hawdon promised to take me there in his cariole; it would have been a journey of more than two hundred miles from Montreal, but the winter season is admirably adapted for expeditious traveling.

The rapids of Richlieu are situated about forty-five miles from Quebec in the river St. Lawrence, and nearly half-way between that city and the town of Three Rivers. They are formed by a great number of sunken rocks and shallows, quite across the river, and two or three miles in length: at low water many of them are visible. The rapidity of the current, which always sets downwards at this place, is said to be at the rate of twelve or fifteen miles an hour. There is sufficient depth of water for the largest man of war; but vessels can only stem the current in strong easterly winds. The tide flows up to these rapids, and rises nearly fifty miles above them, beyond the town of Three Rivers, notwithstanding the current always runs down as far as the Richlieu.

There are two smaller rapids near Montreal, one about a mile and a half below the city, and the other about five miles above: the latter is called Sault de St. Louis, or the Fall of St. Louis; but it is a mere rapid, similar to those of the Richlieu, except that the river at St. Louis is divided into channels by two or three small islands;

which form, with the rapidity of the agitated stream, a very picturesque and beautiful view.

The cascades, near the boundary line, between Upper and Lower Canada, are of a different description to the rapids of Richlieu, St. Louis, &c. and seem to present an almost insuperable bar to the navigation of the river between the two provinces: this obstacle is, however, in some measure removed by the construction of locks and canals on the western shore, through which the batteaux and small vessels pass. The cascades are about two miles in length, and are as violently agitated in the calmest weather, as the ocean is in a gale of wind. The waters appear as if they rushed into an immense gulf, and were boiled up again by some subterranean fire. Rafts of timber, and large scows laden with barrels of flour, pot-ash, and provisions, pass through these tremendous rapids every year with safety; but smaller vessels cannot attempt it without imminent danger. About three miles above the cascades are the rapids of the Cedars; they are less violent than the former, but are infinitely more dangerous than the Richlieu and St. Louis; yet the Canadians and Indians are so very expert in the management of their canoes and batteaux, that an accident very rarely happens in passing any of the rapids.

CHAPTER XX.

Canadian Animals—Anecdote of a young Man—Animals of the Forest—Amphibious Animals—Canadian Hare—Birds—Turkey—Partridge—Fish—Reptiles—Snakes—Bull Frog—Excellent Fricasee of a Bull Frog—Lizards—Terrebins—Insects—Locusts—Extraordinary Devastation—Musquitoes—Bees—The Ephemera, or Day Fly—Fire Fly—Phosphorescent Light which it emits resembles distant Stars, or Sparks of Fire—Delicate Formation—Noxious Insects.

The forests of the British settlements in North America abound with a variety of animals; though in the neighbourhood of the settlements of Upper and Lower Canada the larger and more formidable species are seldom or never seen. The hunters have driven them into the remotest parts of the interior.

The animals of the ox kind are the buffalo, musk bull, and bison. The skin of the former is used by the Canadians for a winter covering, which they denominate a robe. Of the deer kind are the great stag, or round-horned elk, the black and gray moose, the caribou or rein deer, the stag,

fallow-deer, and cul-blanc. The moose deer, of which so much has been said and written, is merely a large species of the elk. Its name is derived from the Algonquin word *Moosu*, which signifies an elk. I was told that it had often been seen in the forests at the back of the village of Beçancour, opposite Three Rivers. The people magnify the size of the animal beyond credibility; but it very probably has made its appearance there, as that part of the country borders on the New England States, of which the moose deer is a native.

The black and brown bears are found in various parts of America, but chiefly in the north-west. Some few are met with in the woods near the settlements of Lower Canada, to the northward of Quebec. A young man who arrived from England a few years ago, with an appointment in one of the public offices at Quebec, had been told that he would meet with bears running wild in the streets of that city, and was advised by his informant to take over with him a large cutlass for his defence. He complied with this friendly advice, and, on his arrival, hung the murderous weapon up in his apartment at the Merchants' coffee-house where he resided for a few weeks; till he found by the risible countenances of his new acquaintance, that his friend in England had completely hoaxed him. The bear is rather shy than fierce, and chooses for his lurking-place,

instead of a cavern, the hollow rotten trunk of an old tree. There he fixes himself in winter as high as he can climb; and, as he is very fat at the end of autumn, very well furnished with hair, takes no exercise, and is generally asleep, he can lose but little by perspiration, and consequently must seldom have occasion to go abroad for food. He is frequently, however, forced from his retreat, by fire being set to it; and, when he attempts to come down, he is assaulted by a shower of balls before he can reach the ground, or dispatched with a tomahawk. The Indians feed upon his flesh, rub themselves with his grease, and clothe themselves with his skin. The Polar or great white bear is seldom seen further south than Newfoundland. It inhabits only the coldest parts of the continent.

The wolverine, or carcajou, is called by the hunters beaver-eater, and resembles the badger of Europe. The raccoon inhabits the temperate parts of the continent. Wolves and foxes, the latter in great variety, are found from Hudson's Bay to the most southern parts of North America. A species of porcupine, or urchin, is also found to the northward, and supplies the Indians with quills about four inches long, which they dye, and ornament their dresses with: the flesh is also reckoned as good eating as a pig.

The animals of the cat kind consist of the

cougar, or American lion, the catamount, the marguay or lynx, though it is more generally known by the name of the tiger cat; the kircajou, beaver, otter, martin, swat or ermine, weasel, mink, fisher or pekin, the skunk or stinking polecat, opossum, conepate, hare, &c.

The other animals are the gray and red squirrels, garden and flying squirrels, the wood rat, mole, and musk rat, or musquash; the common mouse and the shrew mouse. This last is remarkably small, and holds the same place among quadrupeds as the humming-bird does among the feathered race. They live in the woods, and are supposed to feed on grain and small insects.

The amphibious animals are the walrus or sea-horse, the sea-cow, the seal, and the otter, which are found more or less in the northern seas, and the gulf and river of St. Lawrence.

Most of these animals are pursued by the Indians and North-west traders for the sake of their skins; and there is little doubt, from the immense numbers that are annually destroyed, that many of the species will in the course of time become extinct.

The hare in Canada, like the ermine, changes its colour. In summer it is a brownish gray, and in winter of a snowy white. At that season hares very much resemble rabbits, but their flesh is brown like the hares of Europe. The rabbit was

never found wild in any part of America; nor did I ever meet with a tame one in Canada; but in the United States they are reared in great plenty, and sold at market.

The birds of Canada are eagles, vultures, hawks, falcons, kites, owls, ravens, crows, rooks, jays, magpies, daws, cuckows, woodpeckers, hoopers, creepers, and humming-birds; thrushes, black-birds, linnets, finches, sparrows, fly-catchers, larks, wagtails, wrens, swallows, doves, pigeons, turkeys, grouse, ptarmigans, partridges, and quails. Among these, the humming bird is the smallest and most curious; it is often seen in Lower Canada during the summer, playing about among the flowers of the garden. It gathers the sweets from the blossom like the bee, and is continually fluttering upon the wing. Its plumage is extremely beautiful, and resembles that of the peacock, being a compound of the most lovely tints. The body of this little creature, divested of its feathers, is not larger than a bee. The Canadians call it l'oiseau mouche, or bird fly, and the species which visits that part of the country is said to be one of the smallest of the humming bird genus. It generally lays five eggs, about the size of a small pea. It has a long beak, with which it is said to attack the crow when flying. It is a great enemy to that bird, into whose body it will dart its sharp beak, and cause it to fall to the ground.

A bird very much like the canary, both in size and colour, is common in Canada. I have seen a great many in the vicinity of Montreal. They have a pretty effect in gardens, where they often build their nests and breed. They are known only by the name of the yellow bird, and have a pretty note, but their song is rather short.

The turkey, of which there is only one species known, is a native of North America, but is mostly found in a domesticated state in Canada. It is a very hardy bird, and will roost upon trees in the severest weather. The Canadians take no particular pains in rearing them more than the rest of their poultry: great numbers are brought to market, and the inhabitants generally lay in a sufficient stock of them at the commencement of the winter to last them till spring. Their flesh is as fine eating as that of European turkeys.

The Canadian partridge is larger than that of England, and much finer eating. The flesh is as white as a chicken, and more tender and delicate. Many people call them the pheasants of America, that bird being seldom seen so far to the northward. There are several species of the partridge, but I have seen no other than the one I have described.

The water-fowls are in great abundance, and afford plenty of amusement to those who are fond of sporting. Among the principal are herons,

cranes, bitterns, snipes, woodcocks, plovers, wild geese, ducks, widgeons, and teal; a considerable number of these are brought to market by the Indians and Habitans.

The fishes in the seas, gulfs, rivers, and lakes of Canada are innumerable; they consist, indeed, of almost every species and variety at present known. Those brought to market I have noticed in a former chapter, they are mostly the fresh-water fish; and, considering the immense quantities which might be procured with the greatest facility, it is surprising that so few are offered for sale. The salt-water fishery is carried on chiefly for the purpose of exportation, but no great quantity is exported from Quebec.

In Upper Canada the reptiles are numerous, and many of them dangerous; but in Lower Canada they are confined to a few harmless species, and even those but rarely met with in the cultivated parts of the country. The rattle-snake, so dangerous in Upper Canada, is unknown in the Lower Province; nor is there indeed any other species of snake except of the smallest and most harmless description. The only one I saw in that country was about nine or ten inches long, very slender, and of a beautiful grass green. When attacked, it curled itself round upon its tail, and with its head erect, prepared to defend itself. It seemed so diminutive, and perfectly innocent, that

I could not help regretting its being killed by a gentleman who happened to pass by. We found it lying on the grass, and the reason he gave for taking away its life was curious enough: he killed every snake he found, whether venomous or harmless, because it reminded him of the *devil*, who took that form to deceive our first parents.

The bull-frog is not so abundant in Lower Canada as in the warmer parts of North America. There is, however, a sufficient number of these noisy reptiles to disturb the peace of their neighbours. The bellowing which they make may be heard at a very great distance, and their appearance is as disgusting as their noise is troublesome. From their bulky size and short legs they resemble the toad much more than the common frog. How any person can find a stomach to cook and eat such unsightly creatures is to me astonishing, unless driven to it by actual starvation. I have never heard that the French Canadians ever eat them, or indeed any other kind of frog: but Mr. Janson, in his 'Stranger in America,' mentions that he made an excellent fricassee of the hind-quarters of a bull-frog in the United States. He was forced to cook it himself, for the people of the house ran from it with disgust. The smaller species of frog is troublesome in marshy places, and their croaking in the summer evenings is

abominable. Toads are not very numerous. A few lizards are found in the Lower Province; I met with one in the winter frozen to death upon the ice. It was about six inches long, and of a light brown colour. A small tortoise, called a *terrebin*, or more frequently *tarrapin*, is found in small rivers, creeks, and marshy places. It is very common all over the American continent, and is dressed and eaten by the inhabitants, many of whom esteem it equal to turtle.

The insects of the Lower Province are numerous, but there are few of a dangerous nature. Locusts or grass-hoppers have sometimes, from their immense numbers in a hot season, committed great ravages. A circumstance of the kind happened a few years ago in the island of Orleans for two successive seasons. It is said their numbers were so great, that after destroying every vegetable production on the island, they were forced to leave it for fear of starvation; and having assembled in bodies upon the water, they floated over with the flood-tide to Quebec, passed through the town, stripped the ramparts of the grass as they went along, and then proceeded in separate columns through the country to the southward. Many were lost in the voyage, which thinned their numbers; and as the others were dispersed over a large tract of country, the injury they afterwards committed was not of so serious a nature as that

in the island of Orleans. Every summer vast numbers of locusts, crickets, and grass-hoppers are to be found in the woods, plantations, and gardens; their disagreeable creeking noise is heard in every part of the country; fortunately it is not often that any thing more unpleasant is experienced from them.

Fleas, bugs, black beetles, or as they are generally termed, cock-roaches, and other disagreeable domestic insects, are not more common in Canada than in Europe. But the house-fly, as I have before said, is much more numerous and more troublesome: probably from the prolongation of their lives during winter, by the means of stoves, as well as the more powerful heat of summer.

The musquito or gnat abounds in the woods for upwards of three of the hottest months. Its bite is venomous, and has sometimes proved dangerous. Instances have occurred of deserters who had fled into the woods losing their lives in consequence of the violent swelling and inflammation which the bite of innumerable swarms of these insects had caused. Vinegar, or acid of any description, relieves the pain and inflammation almost immediately. It is curious to see this little insect dart upon your hand, insert its proboscis into one of the pores and suck up the blood. In a few moments its body, which was before of a light gray, and almost transparent, becomes red

and distended with blood; nor does it quit its hold till its appetite is completely satiated. It is reckoned safer to let it fly away of its own accord, when satisfied, than to kill it on your hand, as the venom is supposed to be sucked out again with the blood.

Moths and butterflies are numerous, but I saw none of remarkable beauty, or much different from those of England.

Bees are plentiful, and fly in small swarms in the woods and gardens. It is said they were not known in America before the arrival of the Europeans, and the Indians, having no word in their language to describe them, call them English flies. A few of the Canadians keep hives. The bees which I have seen in the gardens appear to be of a larger size than those of England.

Dragon-flies, wasps, and horse-flies, are not more numerous in the cultivated parts of the country than in England. But a species of fly called the *gad-fly*, which comes in about the beginning of June, is extremely numerous, and flies about in large swarms, particularly in the towns. Some people call them the *shad-fly*, because they make their appearance just when that fish is in season, and continue for about the same length of time, which is not more than a fortnight or three weeks. They are perfectly harmless, though coming under the class of those insects which have stings.

While going from Quebec to Three Rivers by water, in the month of August, I met with a curious species of fly, which rose in clouds from the surface of the water, and lodged upon the vessel. I have since found that they belong to the class of ephemera, or day-fly; but they differ considerably from those of Europe, and I believe are of a similar kind to the *ephoron leuhon*, or white fly, which is found on the river Passaic in North America, and lately discovered and described by Dr. Williamson. Those which I met with made their appearance about sunset, and were perfectly white; they were about three quarters of an inch long in the body, and had two transparent nervous wings, erect, about the same length. The tail was furnished with two very slender bristles, nearly of the same length as the body.

In flying they moved with amazing quickness, hovered over the water a few seconds, and then alighted upon the vessel; where, in a little time, they changed their coat and flew away, leaving behind their whole skin from head to tail. It was exactly the complete form of the body, but without wings. I watched hundreds of them, all of whom did precisely the same, and gradually worked their body and wings through the outer skin; after which they flew off. It appeared to me that they could not have divested themselves of their skin, without lodging upon some sub-

stance which assisted them in casting it off; and I never observed any of them settle on the water for that purpose. The surface of the river around the vessel (for it was a very fine, calm evening) was covered with the skins of these little insects. Many of them often flew away the moment their wings were free, and while the skin still adhered to their tail: this, however, they soon got rid of, by the motion of flying, and it consequently fell in the water. I could not procure any information concerning them from the inhabitants; for they are no great admirers of the beauties of Nature.

The *fire fly* (lampyris) is another curious insect, common in Canada, as well as in other parts of the American continent. It is remarkable for emitting a brilliant spark of light, when flying in the air on a summer's evening. It is of a light brown colour, of the class of beetles, and from half to three quarters of an inch in length. The light, as near as I could perceive, is emitted from the abdomen, which as far as the tail is of a light straw colour, and composed of joints: others have, however, asserted that the light is produced from two glandular spots, situated between the head and shoulders, and visible only when the insect is flying; but I have caught several and put them in a phial with some grass, and they gave exactly the same light as when flying in the air. The

spark, therefore, appears to be emitted at the pleasure of the insect, or when it respires. In the open air at night they are extremely pretty, their phosphorescent light appearing like distant stars, or sudden sparks of fire. They are very delicate, and will not live long in confinement. They appear to abound most among the grass.

There are but few other insects worthy of particular notice, or differing materially from those found in England. The most noxious and dangerous species, as scorpions, tarantulas, centipedes, &c. are confined to the southern parts of the continent. In short, the inhabitants of Lower Canada, and the north-eastern states of the American Union, are particularly blessed in living free from the dread of dangerous animals, venomous reptiles, and noxious vermin.

CHAPTER XXI.

Forest Trees — Shrubs — Plants — Pine Trees — Clearing of Lands — Singular Adventure of Miss Van C.—American Oak—Birch Tree—Maple Tree—Cedar — Ginseng—Capillaire—Sumach—Poisonous Sumach—Herb à la Puce —Gold Flies—Cotton Plant or Cotonier, yields Sugar Resembling Honey—Onion Tree—Sweet Garlic—Wild Turnip — Tripe de Rochers—Indian Tea—Aromatic Grass—Cranberry — Juniper Tree — Sun Flowers — Oil extracted from the Seed, equal to Florence Oil—Hemp and Flax.

The two Canadas abound with almost every species and variety of trees, shrubs, and plants. Among the timber-trees are the oak, pine, fir, elm, ash, birch, walnut, beech, maple, chesnut, cedar, aspen, &c. Among the fruit trees and shrubs are walnut, chesnut, apple, pear, cherry, plum, elder, vines, hazel, hiccory, sumach, juniper, hornbeam, thorn, laurel, whortleberry, cranberry, raspberry, gooseberry, blackberry, blueberry, sloe, &c. Strawberries are luxuriantly scattered over every part of the country, but cur-

rants are only met with in gardens. Such innumerable quantities of useful and beautiful plants, herbs, grasses, and flowers, are also to be found in the forests, that where the botanist is presented with so rich a field for observation and study, it is to be regretted that so little is known concerning them.

As it cannot be expected that I can enter into a very copious description of such a variety, I shall only notice a few of the most remarkable, as far as I have had an opportunity of observing during my residence in America.

The pine-trees grow to the height of 120 feet and more, and from nine to ten feet in circumference, in several parts of Lower Canada, bordering on the states of Vermont and New York. They make excellent masts and timber for shipping; but the quantity procured in the Lower Province is very trifling compared to the supplies received from Upper Canada and the United States. In other parts, particularly to the northward and westward of Quebec, the forest trees are mostly of a small growth. There are several varieties of the pine and fir trees, from some of which are made large quantities of pitch, tar, and turpentine. The clearing of lands has of late years been carried on to great advantage by those who properly understand the true method; for there is scarcely a tree in the forest but what may be turned to some ac-

count, particularly in the making of pot and pearl ashes, which have enriched the American settlers far beyond any other article. The trees of a resinous quality supply pitch, tar, and turpentine. The maple furnishes sugar; and, with the beech, ash, elm, &c. will also serve for the pot-ash manufactory. Cedar is converted into shingles for the roofs of houses; oak into ship-timber; firs into deal planks and boards; and, in short, almost every kind of tree is brought into use for some purpose or other.

In the clearing of lands, however, it is always necessary that the settler should first look out for a market for his produce, and for some navigable river or good road to convey the same; otherwise it is of little consequence that he obtains four or five hundred acres of land for four or five pounds. So much land for so little money is highly prepossessing to an European, but appearances, particularly at a distance, are often fallacious. A few years ago a lady in England, who possessed a grant of several hundred acres of woodland in Lower Canada, had, from frequent calculation, conceived so high an opinion of their worth, and the riches that might be obtained from so many trees, each of which she valued at what it would fetch in England, that she determined to go over and settle upon her property; nor was she deficient in patriotism, for she took into account the valuable

timber that might by that means be procured for the navy. She therefore lost no time in laying the advantages of such a settlement before the commissioners of his Majesty's dock-yards, and, I believe, obtained an acknowledgment that they would receive whatever timber she should send home. Elated with this success, she immediately supplied herself at a great expense with implements of agriculture, and almost every new-invented instrument for farming she could think of; with an abundance of ropes and machines for pulling down trees, and grubbing up their roots. Thus equipped, she embarked by herself for the happy land, which, to her sanguine imagination was far superior to Potosi or Peru.

After a fatiguing voyage, which would perhaps have damped the ardour of a mind less enthusiastic than her's, she arrived at Quebec, and produced her letters from the great folks at home. But she soon learnt there were *great* people in Canada as well as in England; for, instead of being received with open arms, as she expected, and as one who incurred much expense and trouble to benefit the colony and mother country, as well as herself, she was treated with shyness, and was even considered as rather *cracked in the brain.* In spite, however, of the mortification she experienced from the sneers and whispers of the good people of Quebec, she set off up the country, to

carry her project into execution. After experiencing many vexatious difficulties on the way, she arrived within a day's journey of her lands, which lay many miles back from any settlement. She put up for the night at a miserable log-hut, in the midst of a gloomy forest, where even Pan himself would never have thought of venturing in search of a wood nymph: but scarcely had she laid herself down to rest when she heard the report of a gun, and in an instant two or three men rushed into the hut. They were at first going to carry her off; but upon second thoughts, which are often better than the first, they merely begged the favour to help themselves to her money, and some other property she had brought with her, which having done they immediately departed.

Nothing could exceed the terror and consternation of the poor unfortunate lady, who, notwithstanding she was possessed of a greater share of courage than generally falls to her sex, yet was so much alarmed at being robbed in a place where she expected to have met with nothing but *spotless innocence*, and *pastoral happiness*, that she set off for Quebec the next morning. There she endeavoured to dispose of her lands, but on a survey being made, they were found to be so remotely situated, that nobody would give any thing for them. There was no communication but by narrow paths, and neither road nor river by which the

timber might be carted or floated from the spot. The poor lady was therefore obliged to return to England unsuccessful, after incurring a very great expense, and being exposed to the insulting sneers of unfeeling strangers. I was told that some of her ropes and new-invented implements for clearing land are yet lying in one of the merchants' stores at Quebec.

The American oak is quicker in its growth, but less durable than that of Europe. One species called the live oak, which is however found only in the warmer parts of the country, is said by many to be equal, if not superior, to the English oak for ship-building. The white oak is the best that is found in the Canadian settlements, and is chiefly used for the building of vessels at Quebec and Montreal.

The birch tree affords an excellent bark, of which the Indians make canoes, baskets, and covering for their huts and wigwams. The wood of the black birch is used by the Canadians for carts and cart-wheels, tables, and other articles of domestic use.

One of the most useful trees in Canada is the maple tree (acer saccharinum) which supplies the inhabitants with abundance of excellent sugar, and the best fire-wood. I have in a former chapter adverted to the mode of procuring the sap of this tree, and manufacturing it into sugar. It is not

cut down for fire-wood till exhausted of its sap, when it is generally preferred, and fetches a higher price than any other fire-wood sold at market.

There is another species, or rather variety, called the curled maple, which is much used for cabinet-work, the wood being very prettily waved or curled. It requires four or five years to season, properly, before it can be worked up. The white cedar is plentiful in Canada, and reckoned the most durable wood for posts, railings, and picketing. The red cedar is scarcely ever met with in the forests.

Two plants, formerly of great importance in Canada, are now either almost extirpated, or are little noticed as articles of commerce: these are ginseng and capillaire. The former plant was found in great abundance in the early settlement of the French in the colony; and large quantities were exported to France, from whence it was re-exported to China. The high price which was given for it by the Chinese tempted the Canadians to gather the roots before the proper time; not content with which, they employed the Indians in travelling through the country to collect them wherever a root could be found. The consequence was, that the Canadian ginseng soon became exhausted, and at this day few plants are to be found. The trade in capillaire was also at one time extremely brisk, but is now either exhausted, like

the ginseng, or neglected for more important articles. A small quantity is sometimes exported from Quebec.

The sumach is a very common shrub in Lower Canada, as well as in other parts of America. I have seen only one species (rhus glabrum, I believe), though there are one or two others. It grows about five feet high, in hedges, and among other shrubs, and bears large clusters of berries of a deep crimson. The branches and berries, boiled together, or separately, are very useful for dyeing; but the Canadians seldom put the fruit to any other use than the making of vinegar. The berries remain on the plant during winter, but the leaves fall off.

There is a species of the sumach remarkable for its poisonous nature, the rhus vernix, but it is little known in the Lower Province. It delights in swampy grounds, and in the United States is known by the name of the poison tree. Some extraordinary particulars are mentioned concerning this shrub, whose noxious effluvia affect some people so much, that they cannot approach the place where it grows, or even expose themselves to the wind which carries its poisonous exhalation with it, without having their hands, face, and other parts of the body blistered and swelled; even their eyes are closed for some days together, by the violent tumours it creates: yet others can

approach this shrub, and handle it without the least inconvenience. It has, however, been known to affect the latter when in a state of perspiration, but then not without rubbing the plant violently between their hands.

There is a plant, or weed, very common in Lower Canada, called by the French *herbe à la puce, (herbe aux puces, Plantago psyllium, Linn.)* which possesses nearly the same deleterious qualities as the rhus vernix, or poisonous sumach, being noxious to some, and harmless to others. I have seen several persons who have been confined to the house in consequence of having been poisoned in the woods by this weed; even the mere treading upon it is sufficient to create swellings and inflammations. Yet I have seen other people handle it with safety; and have myself often pulled it up by the root, broke the stem, and covered my hands with the milky juice which it contains, without experiencing any disagreeable effect. What property it is in the constitution of people which thus imbibes or repels the poisonous qualities of this plant I have never been able to learn, nor can I, from observation, account for it.

Many gardens are full of it, which occasions it to be considered there as a weed. The roots appear to spread under ground to a considerable extent, and though the plant may be cut off every year, yet it springs up again in another place. It

makes its appearance about the end of May, and runs up like the runners of scarlet beans, entwining itself round any tree, plant, or paling that comes in its way; and if there is nothing upon which the young shoots can support themselves, they adhere to each other. Their leaves and stems are of a light green, and they are in full flower in July. Wherever the herbe à la puce grows, there is always to be found a great number of beautiful lady-flies (coccinella). They are covered with a brilliant gold as long as they are on the leaf, or retain any particle of its juice. I caught some of them, and put them into a phial; but neglecting to put some leaves of the herbe à la puce with them, they had by the next morning lost their splendid coat, and merely resembled the common red lady-fly which we have in England. I then caught a few more, and having supplied them well with the leaves of that plant, they retained their gold tinge equally as well as in the open air. In a few days they had reduced the leaves to mere skeletons; but as long as there remained a morsel of the stalk or fibres to feed on, their beautiful appearance continued. I kept them upwards of a month in this manner, giving them occasionally fresh leaves of the plant, and admitting the air through some holes that I pricked in the paper with which I had covered the mouth of the phial. They would feed upon no other plant than that

of the herbe à la puce, from which alone they derived their beauty. I afterwards gave them their liberty, and they flew away, apparently little the worse for their confinement.

Another plant of a remarkable, but more beneficial nature, is the *cotton plant*, or as the French call it, the *cotonnier*, which grows abundantly in Lower Canada. As it delights in a good soil, it forms nearly as correct a criterion to judge of the quality of land as the maple tree; for, like it, the *cotonnier* possesses saccharine qualities. It comes up in the month of May, much like asparagus; and when it is nine or ten inches high, is cut down, sold at market, dressed and eaten much in the same manner. If left to grow, it rises to a plant about three feet high, and bears a flower resembling the lilac, but of a finer though weaker fragrance. In the month of August there is an abundant dew upon its leaves and flowers, which continues for a fortnight or three weeks. This being shaken off into basons before or immediately after sun-rise, a quantity of sweet liquor or syrup is collected, which being boiled down to a proper consistency, yields a very good sugar resembling honey both in colour and flavour. Some of the Canadian farmers procure a tolerable quantity of this sugar for their family use; but very little is ever sold.

The *cotonnier* is of a pale dull green, and its stem contains a lactescent liquor similar to the

herbe à la puce, from which circumstance it has most probably been considered by the Canadians to possess some poisonous property: notwithstanding which they eat the young plants, and make sugar of the syrup or dew which they collect from the leaves and flowers; and no instance has ever occurred of any deleterious effects having been experienced from it. The cattle, however, always avoid it.

The pods of the *cotonnier*, when riper, are somewhat in the shape of an egg, only more pointed at the ends, and from three to four inches long. They contain a fine white silky substance, extremely soft, and resembling cotton, from which it takes its name. The seeds of the plant are attached to one end of this substance, and are very numerous. The Canadians make no other use of the cotton than as a substitute for feathers to fill their mattresses and pillows with; though it appears capable of being appropriated to much more important uses. Paper, and even cloth, I should think, might be made from it with facility. It requires no attention in the culture, but springs up wherever it finds a soil congenial to its nature. But the quality of its cotton might possibly be very much improved, if properly cultivated in plantations; independent of which, considerable quantities of excellent sugar, apparently superior to the maple, might be collected with very little

trouble. Were I to reside in Canada, there is nothing in which I should more delight than in forming a large plantation of the cotonnier, and endeavouring to bring the produce of that already valuable plant into some important use; which I am confident might be done with very little trouble and expense. I am only surprised that no person has hitherto treated it with the attention it merits. As a plantation for sugar only, it would be extremely valuable, and save the immense labour and loss of time which the collecting of the maple sugar occasions, at a period when the husbandman is much wanted on his farm The dew from the cotonnier may be gathered by children, and at so early an hour in the morning that it could never interfere with the business of the day. The boiling of it down into sugar is a simple process, and might be easily conducted by the women.

There is a shrub which the French also call cotonniere, but it is of a very different nature to the preceding plant; and is called by naturalists the water-beech. The three-leaved hellebore, and the galium tinctorium, are used by the Indians and Canadians for dyeing. The first yields a fine yellow, and the other a brilliant red.

A plant called the *onion tree*, which is met with in the Canadian gardens, is of a curious nature. Its stalk runs up to the same height, and it has

much the same appearance, as the common onion when in seed; but it contains several branches, and at the end of each a cluster of moderate sized onions. These are its seed, and if left in the cluster will frequently branch out, and each bear other clusters, but of a more diminutive size. The onion tree is propagated by planting.

In the woods are found a variety of wild flowers and plants, many of them as handsome as those reared in gardens. One of these, which the French call sweet garlic, is extremely pretty: it has two large leaves springing up from its root, of a pale grass green, between which its stem rises to the height of ten or a dozen inches, bearing about half a dozen very pretty flowers, somewhat resembling in shape and colour the blue bell.

Another, denominated the wild turnip, is also a very handsome plant, and grows to the height of two feet or more. Its stem is about half an inch thick at the root, and diminishes gradually in size to the top. It is streaked with green and brown, and bears three large dark green leaves, spreading out in the form of a cross; other stems branch out from the main one, bearing similar leaves; and in the centre is a beautiful flower, having a slight resemblance to a tulip. It is handsomely variegated with brown, red, green, and yellow tints and streaks, which soften towards the stem.

The forests are full of the most valuable herbs,

roots, and grasses, the properties of which are generally well known to the Indians, and to many of the Canadians. A moss called by the French *tripe de rochers*, which I take to be the rein deer moss, often serves the Indian and Canadian voyageurs for food when their provisions are short; or, as is sometimes the case, quite exhausted. They boil it down and drink the liquor, which is reckoned very nutritive. An herb called the Indian tea is frequently used as a substitute for that of China, and considered much more wholesome. It has a pleasant aromatic flavour.

Species of wild oats and rice grow in the swamps and marshes, and with several other plants, as the sea rye, sea-side plantain, bear-berries, sea-rocket, laurier or sweet willow, cranberry, juniper tree, sea-side peas, &c. are used by the Indians and French Canadians for a variety of purposes.

An aromatic grass, called Indian grass, is gathered in the woods by the Indian women, and brought into the towns for sale. It has a very agreeable fragrance, which it retains for years. It is used as lavender is by us, for scenting clothes, &c.

The Canadians are fond of sun-flowers in their gardens and near their houses, but I do not understand that they turn them to any account. At the Moravian settlement of Bethlehem, in the United States, a considerable manufactory of oil is carried

on from these flowers by the brethren, an example which I think is worthy of imitation in England as well as in Canada. The seed must be sown in a good soil, and about three feet distant from each other, in a small hole. When the plant is about a yard high, it must be hilled round with mould. An acre of land will produce about forty or fifty bushels of seed, which will yield as many gallons of oil.

The seeds, when quite ripe, are hulled, and afterwards reduced to a powder. They are then put into a strong bag of woollen or canvas cloth, and placed between the iron plates of a press, by which the oil is expressed into proper vessels, which are placed underneath to receive it. The plates of the press are often heated; but oil drawn from cold plates is best, and will keep much longer, for the heat is apt to make the other rancid, though it produces a larger quantity of oil.

In a cold season a certain degree of heat is necessary; but when the oil is wanted for aliment, or medicine, the plates should be heated by boiling water only. Sometimes, when the bruised seed is dry, it may be exposed to the steam of boiling water, when tied up in a bag.

Every expressed oil, when pure and fresh, and obtained with caution, is as void of acrimony, and free from any particular taste or smell, as Florence

oil. The sun-flower oil is extremely mild, and may be used for sallad, and all the purposes for which olive oil is now used.

Hemp and flax are both natives of the North American continent. Father Hennepin found the former growing wild in the country of the Illinois, and Sir Alexander Mackenzie, in his travels to the Pacific Ocean, met with flax in the interior, where no European was ever known to have been before. There is also another plant, a native of Canada and other parts of North America, known by the name of Indian hemp. It is spoken of in the American Philosophical Transactions, published at Philadelphia, in the following manner: "This plant grows in many places, but delights more particularly in light sandy soils. Its bark is so strong that the Indians make use of it for bow-strings. Could we but find a method of separating and softening its fibres, so as to render it fit to be spun into fine thread, it might serve as a substitute for flax and hemp. This plant deserves to be cultivated on another account. The pod it bears contains a substance, that from its softness and elasticity, might be used instead of the finest down. Its culture is easy, inasmuch as its root, which penetrates deep into the earth, survives the winter, and shoots out fresh stalks every spring. Five or six years after being sown, it is in its greatest perfection."

It may therefore be truly said that Canada is a hemp country; even more so than Russia or Poland. Yet, will it be credited, that though we have had the two provinces in our possession full half a century, in 1808 not a single ton of hemp had ever been procured from them, while we have been paying to foreign powers, often our very enemies, more than a million and a half annually for that important article.

The Canadians cultivate flax merely for their own domestic use, but a few hundred bushels of linseed are sometimes exported from Quebec. Hemp is to be seen growing in a wild uncultivated state round their houses, where it runs into large plants of seven or eight feet in height; but it is only for the purpose of producing seed for their birds, beyond which, they never concern themselves about it. The soil and climate are admirably adapted to the growth of hemp, and are in every respect as favourable to it as Russia and Poland. It is a very tenacious plant, and is with difficulty rooted out, where it has grown for any length of time. In the town and neighbourhood of Three Rivers, though a very sandy and otherwise barren soil, it springs up in almost every garden, and lines the banks of the river almost to the water's edge. Yet no other attention is paid to it, than for the purpose before mentioned. It may perhaps be worthy of remark,

that birds of every description in Canada are fed wholly upon hemp-seed.

Hemp is one of the most profitable and valuable productions of the earth. It enriches the cultivator, and furnishes shipping with the most useful and important part of its equipment. The several processes of hemp also benefit the state, by employing many hands that could not be so usefully and profitably engaged in other occupations. The advantage, therefore, which a country must derive from the culture and manufacture of hemp, throughout its several branches, cannot be doubted, and is sufficiently proved by the importance which Russia has derived from her commerce in that article; by which she has, in a manner, rendered the greatest navy in the world dependent upon her will and caprice. The wavering conduct of that power has often threatened us with the stoppage of our marine stores; and, in conjunction with the other northern powers, she has at times found it no unprofitable instrument to hold *in terrorem* over us. That we have never yet experienced any sensible difficulty for the want of naval stores has been more owing to a variety of fortunate events, which have dissolved or rendered defective their coalitions, than to the supplies we may have received from any other quarter.

While such was the precarious state of our in-

tercourse with the northern powers at various periods, and the uncertainty of being able any longer to procure our usual supplies of naval stores, especially hemp; it was a matter of surprise and regret to all, that government was not able to procure those essential articles from our colonies abroad. Canada, in particular, was well known to be capable of affording every article as good, and in equal plenty, as those we derived from the Baltic; provided the attainment of those supplies was made a national concern. It was evident that government must interfere; for individuals, if they possessed the abilities, had not the means of accomplishing such an important object.

At length, the attention of government was roused to the necessity of procuring hemp from some of our own settlements; and in the year 1800, the lords of the council for trade and plantations took into their consideration the means by which they might introduce the culture of that plant in the East Indies, and the British colonies of North America. Previous, however, to this, various experiments had been indirectly tried in Canada, and considerable sums of money expended for several years, but no other encouragement was held forth than bounties and medals: compensations of too trifling a nature to influence a people naturally indolent, and to overcome a variety of obstacles of another description. The

public money, however, was annually expended, abundant supplies of hemp-seed and manufacturing implements were sent out; and the government agents appeared to be actively engaged in furthering this important concern, but all to no purpose. Eighteen or twenty years elapsed, and not a hundred weight of hemp had been sent home.

It was at this period that the Board of Trade endeavoured to bring the culture of hemp to a successful issue, and determined not to confine their inquiries to Canada alone, they caused several experiments to be tried in the East Indies, and for two or three years their exertions were indefatigable. No better success, however, attended their endeavours (though larger bounties were offered, and new machines sent out) than had been before experienced in Canada. Why the culture of hemp did not succeed in the East Indies, I have never correctly ascertained; but I have heard that the climate is too hot, and that the hemp grows too fine for large cordage. As to Canada, a variety of obstacles were enumerated as the reason of its not succeeding in that country. Among the rest, Mr. Vondenvelden, of Quebec, wrote to the Society of Arts that its failure might be attributed to the attachment of the Canadians to old customs; and to the opposition and prejudice of the Romish clergy, the wheat merchants,

and the seigniors: The first of whom depend for tithes; the second for success in trade; and the third for the employment of their mills, the chief source of their revenues, upon abundant crops of wheat; which they conceived the introduction of the culture of hemp, would partly, if not totally annihilate. The idleness of the Canadians, the scarcity of working hands, and the scanty population, were also enumerated among the greatest obstacles to the culture of hemp in Canada. Thus, after so many years' exertion, and the expenditure of upwards of 40,000*l.*, we were still obliged to trust to the precarious supplies of that essential article from a foreign power; who, whatever his real interest or inclination might have been, has several times been obliged to become our enemy.

It appears, nevertheless, from several recent volumes of the Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, &c. that the culture of hemp in Canada was not an hopeless undertaking, but that it required proper people to conduct it, and a sufficient capital to carry it into execution. In their preface to volume 21st. the Society say "That *they have ascertained by actual experiments, that Canada can furnish hemp equal in quality for the uses of the navy to that from the Baltic*, and it is hoped that government will attend to that point upon which the balance now stands suspended, as

the scale may be brought to preponderate for ever to the national advantage, if our government will purchase from our own colonies on fair terms with ready money, and by *proper agents*, that article for which the same sums must else be paid to foreign powers, *of whose deliberations we must otherwise stand in awe.*"

In the preface to their 22d volume, the Society observe that "Every man is sensible of providing supplies of this kind from our own colonies, and in our last preface we expressed our wishes that government would attend to that important point. It is well known that *the growers of hemp in Canada have not capitals to give credit upon, nor are the cultivators merchants.*" From this it appears, that the Society were of opinion that the government did not offer sufficient support or encouragement, to carry the culture of hemp properly into effect; and that it was left in the hands of ignorant or interested agents, who looked only to their own private emolument. If such was the opinion of the Society, it has since been fully verified by the treatment my uncle experienced in the course of his undertaking; not however that the least blame, as far as I know, can attach to the Board of Trade, whose exertions seem to have been directed wholly to the good of the country, and the accomplishment of the important object which they had in view. That they were unsuccessful, must be at-

tributed chiefly to their want of information respecting the real state of Canada, and relying too much upon the fallacious representations of interested people in that country.

As far as is known at present, we cannot procure a ton of hemp from any other part of the world. The United States have not enough for their own consumption; and even *they* see the necessity of cultivating hemp within their own territories. Their newspapers, of late, have been filled with exhortations and instructions to the people upon that subject. In the East Indies the Board of Trade have tried several experiments, but they have never answered. Canada is the only country in our possession, properly adapted to the culture of hemp. It is formed by nature for it; and as fine hemp has been grown there, as ever came from Russia.

As the cultivation of hemp in Canada is a national concern, so it ought to be the subject of *parliamentary consideration.* If at peace with Russia, I own that we could hardly venture upon so much publicity, without giving offence; but, in a state of hostility, no such delicacy can possibly exist. Parliament is certainly best able to judge of the propriety of throwing off our dependence upon the Northern Powers for our marine supplies; or whether it is better policy to remain as we are.

It undoubtedly appears a self-evident principle, that to encourage the agriculture and commerce of our own colonies, is more advantageous than to encourage those of a foreign country; and that procuring our most essential articles from our own people, is safer than trusting to the precarious will of an enemy. There, however, may be reasons which might dictate a policy diametrically opposite; not that I believe such reasons do exist, but a subject of so much importance can be properly investigated only by those who are thoroughly initiated in the grand arcana of politics. At all events, the mode hitherto adopted for the culture of hemp in Canada, and which is still going on, will never produce the desired effect. Things must be put upon a very different footing, if success is ever meant to be the result. To continue a system so cramped and confined in its operation, is to continue an unnecessary waste of the public money, without the least prospect of benefiting the country.

I cannot conclude this chapter without noticing the success of the Earl of Shannon in the cultivation of hemp in Ireland. His Lordship, in the course of last year, is said to have made upwards of 100*l.* per acre by his valuable crop. I am not informed of the extent of his Lordship's efforts; but they sufficiently prove that the culti-

vation of hemp in our own dominions is not an idle speculation; and that, with adequate encouragement, we might in a few years become totally independent of the northern powers, for our supplies of that very important article.

CHAPTER XXII.

Leave Quebec—Mode of Travelling—Steam Boat—Schooners—Voyage to Three Rivers—Beautiful Scenes—Eel Traps—Spearing Fish by Torch Light—Second Journey to Three Rivers by Land—Pass the River at Cape Rouge—Arrive at Jacques Cartier—Rapid Torrent—New Bridge—Post House—Monsieur Garnoux the Blacksmith—Deschambault—Seigniory of Grondines—St. Anne—Charles Lanaudiere, Esq. Grand Voyer of the Province—Batiscan—Iron Works—Champlain—Rivulets—Bridges—Canadian Farms—Roman Catholic Crosses—Post House at Cape Madelaine—Arrival at Three Rivers.

My first excursion to Three Rivers was by water; a mode of travelling not always very agreeable, when ascending the river. The numerous rapids, and strong currents, which commence at the Richlieu, about 45 miles above Quebec, render the voyage extremely tedious, unless you are favoured with a strong easterly wind. As we had a considerable quantity of ma-

chinery, agricultural implements, &c. to remove, we chartered one of the schooners which sail regularly between Quebec and Montreal. These vessels range from 80 to 100 tons, and being merely adapted for burthen, afford very poor accommodation for passengers. Few of the inhabitants, indeed, ever take their passage in them, except upon the voyage down the river from Montreal to Quebec, which is generally accomplished in two days; and even with contrary winds is seldom more than four or five days. The people are obliged to take provisions with them, and go on shore at night to sleep at a farm house, unless they take a mattress with them; for the cabin, which is extremely small, contains no other bed than the master's. The Frenchmen who command these vessels are also not very nice in their manner of living, and the cabin is consequently always in a filthy condition. The passage-money is a dollar from Quebec to Three Rivers, and two dollars to Montreal,—cheap enough if the accommodations were more decent. I should think a steam boat similar to that which runs on the north river, between Albany and New York, only on a smaller scale, would answer extremely well on the river St. Lawrence, where, without a fair wind, vessels are often upwards of a month getting up to Montreal, a distance of only 180 miles from Quebec. It might be made for the purpose of carry-

ing merchandise as well as passengers. The American steam boat frequently goes a distance of 160 miles, against wind and tide, in less than two days. It runs between Albany and New York regularly twice a week.

The river St. Lawrence, all the way up on both sides, affords a variety of the most beautiful prospects. As far as the rapids of Richlieu, the shores are steep, rugged, and lofty; in some places projecting into the river in the form of small capes and promontories; and in others, receding into innumerable coves and bays, which in many parts expand the river to a considerable breadth. The banks are covered with trees and shrubs of various kinds, except in a few places where the black lime-slate, or lime-stone rock, shivers in thin pieces or moulders into dust. On the summit of the shores, the white farm houses, and neat churches, placed at almost regular distances, appear at intervals between clumps of trees and rich meadows. In other parts the shores are seen sloping into cultivated valleys covered with a beautiful rich verdure, and adorned with small neat villages, in which the church, the houses of the curé and the seignior, are generally the most conspicuous. Thick umbrageous forests, and distant mountains whose summits mingle with the clouds, complete the charming scenery, which is viewed to great advantage during a voyage up the river, and which

presents to the eye a succession of the most beautiful landscapes.

In several places along shore, the Canadians place hurdles, just beyond low water mark, for the purpose of catching eels, &c. A number of baskets or traps, are placed between the hurdles, which are covered at high water, and as the tide ebbs down, the eels and other fish bury themselves therein, and are easily taken. Another curious mode of fishing is also practised by the Canadians and Indians; they go in their canoes on the river at night, the darker the better, for the purpose of *spearing* salmon and the larger species of fish, by torch light. They can see the fish to a considerable depth, and are extremely expert at spearing them. They are very fond of this sport, and pursue it with much avidity.

About a month after, I had occasion to go to Quebec, and on my return again to Three Rivers I travelled by land. It was then the latter end of October, and the road, for the first stage out of Quebec, was extremely bad. The journey by land would be more pleasant if performed in comfortable vehicles; but the Canadian post calashes are very ill adapted for a long journey: they afford neither shelter from the pouring rain, the scorching beams of the sun, nor the heavy dews of the night. The driver also, by sitting in front, presses it down, and renders the traveller's seat very un-

easy; and at every nine or ten miles he has to step into a fresh vehicle. The post-houses are regulated by an act of the provincial parliament, which enjoins the proprietors to keep a certain number of horses, calashes, and carioles, ready at all hours of the day and night for the accommodation of travellers, and in general very little delay is occasioned. The price of travelling is also regulated by the act, and a paper containing the sum to be paid from stage to stage is stuck up in every post-house. It cost me from Quebec to Three Rivers, including provisions which I took with me, about ten dollars, or forty-five shillings sterling, for 90 miles. The regulated price is one shilling currency per league: but the stage into and out of town is charged two or three shillings per league, on account of the greater expense of keeping the horses than in the country. There is no post established on the left bank of the river.

I left Quebec about noon, and at the end of the first stage of three leagues passed the river of Cape Rouge in a kind of scow or flat-bottomed boat, secured to a rope stretched across the river. At this ferry, or traverse, fourpence is charged for passing with the horse and calash. From thence we proceeded to the post-house about a hundred yards further, where I got into another calash. I had no occasion to cross any more rivers till we

arrived at Jacques Cartier, about 36 miles from Quebec. This river, which derives its name from the navigator who first explored the river St. Lawrence, is frequently very dangerous to cross, on account of the extreme rapidity of the current, occasioned by the broken rocky bed over which the waters precipitate themselves into the St. Lawrence.

It was dark when I arrived, and I was obliged to alight from the calash, and walk down a steep winding road to the river, which runs through a narrow valley inclosed on both sides by lofty heights. The canoe was conducted by one man, who held on by a rope stretched across the river, and secured to posts; and such was the impetuosity of the current, that his strength was barely sufficient to prevent the canoe from being carried away by the stream. A considerable way up the river a handsome bridge has been erected within these few years; but the distance is too great from the post-road for travellers to pass over it, except in the spring or fall of the year, when the ferry is at times impassable without great danger.

On arriving at the other side, I proceeded up the hill with the calash-driver, who carried my portmanteau to the post-house. Here I found the family at supper; but, I was told, they could not afford me any accommodation for the night. It being extremely dark, I was not much inclined

to travel any further, and therefore inquired if I could get a bed in the neighbourhood: this however I found could not be procured nearer than three miles, at Cape Santé, where a blacksmith, of the name of Garnoux, keeps a house for the accommodation of travellers: upon this, I got into a calash, and in about half an hour was set down at Monsieur Garnoux's. The house is small, but every thing is neat and clean; a very uncommon circumstance in the post houses. Monsieur Garnoux, who, by the bye, is a very decent blacksmith, received me very politely, and handed me out of the calash into his best room. Though it was Sunday night, he had not much in his larder. Tea or coffee, and bread and butter, were all that he could furnish. I had, however, a tolerable good larder of my own in a basket, and therefore did not feel the want of any thing but rest; which, after supper, I procured in a very decent bed.

At day-break, the calash from the post-house was at the door: having breakfasted, and paid four shillings for my entertainment, I took leave of the blacksmith, and proceeded on my journey. The accommodations at this house are the best on the road, between Quebec and Three Rivers; and I would advise all travellers between those towns, to take up their abode for the night at Monsieur Garnoux's, in preference to any of the post-houses.

After passing through the seigniory of Deschambault, I came to Grondines, the poorest seigniory in Lower Canada. The soil barely covers an immense bed of stone, and can scarcely supply the inhabitants with the necessaries of life. Its present seignior is Mr. Moses Hart, of Three Rivers, who possibly turns it to some account in the making of pot-ash, &c.; though he told me, that he one year derived upwards of 80*l.* for his *lods et vents* only. Its former proprietor ruined himself by sanguine speculations in the culture of corn, and went to a very great expense in the erection of mills, &c.

The next seigniory, called St. Anne's, is the property of Charles Lanaudiere, Esq. Grand Voyer of the province. In some parts it lies very low, and in the spring is usually inundated, which occasions the post-road to be situated further from the river than it is in other seigniories, where it winds along the summits of the lofty banks which overlook the river, or along the borders of delightful valleys. Mr. Lanaudiere is one of the most respectable French gentlemen in the colony. He was an officer in the army of General Montcalm, and was wounded on the plains of Abraham. He is now between seventy and eighty years of age, yet possesses every faculty in such admirable preservation, that he does not appear more than fifty; and is more active and

intelligent than many men at that age. He is sincerely attached to the British government; and in his conduct, his manners, and his principles, appears to be, in every respect, a complete Englishman. Many years ago, Mr. Lanaudiere visited England, where he lived in the first circles, and is, of course, well known to several of the Princes. On his return to Canada, he was appointed Grand Voyer of the Province. This office requires him to make an annual circuit of Lower Canada, to inspect the state of the roads, bridges, &c. in the several parishes. He has a salary of 500*l.* per annum. There are also Grand Voyers of Quebec, Montreal, and Three Rivers, who superintend their respective districts, and are subordinate to the Grand Voyer of the Province. Mr. Lanaudiere possesses the esteem of his countrymen, and of every English gentleman that arrives in the country, who always meets with a hearty welcome at his house.

The next seigniory is Batiscan, where the abundance of iron ore that was discovered, determined several of its proprietors to establish an iron-foundry and forge, upon similar principles to those of Three Rivers. At present, I am told, it is a losing concern, and two of the partners have lately withdrawn their shares. It is to be hoped, however, that they will succeed, as every thing which tends to increase the manufactures

and commerce of a new country cannot fail to be beneficial.

Champlain, which is situated next to Batiscan, is an extensive seigniory, being upwards of eighteen miles in length, and of considerable depth. Its soil consists of a sandy loam, in many parts of the colour of yellow ochre. Several small springs are met with in different parts of the seigniory; they form little rivulets, which run across the road into the river. A few loose logs of wood are thrown over them, by way of bridges. These little streams are found more or less along the road, from one end of the country to the other, and with the ditches that are cut by the farmers, between their respective grounds, are always covered by loose logs, which shake the calash very much in passing over them, and would break the springs, were they constructed of steel, instead of leather.

The farms situate along the roads in Lower Canada are generally cleared of trees for about a mile back. They are seldom more than two or three acres in breadth, but run back into the woods to more than ninety or a hundred acres. The Canadians suffer few trees to remain near their houses, on account of the musquitoes: this, with the wooden railings and fences, have rather a naked appearance, compared with the hedges and rows of trees planted along the roads in

England. There is, however, upon the whole, a neatness in the cultivated parts of Canada, that is seldom met with in the United States, except in very old settlements. This neatness is occasioned by clearing the land of the stumps of trees, and fencing in their farms with more regularity than is the practice in the States, where the slovenly zig-zag or worm fence is very prevalent. The Americans, however, have the advantage in the appearance of their houses and other buildings.

By the road side, a few crosses still remain to attract the attention of the traveller, who formerly, if he was a pious Catholic, would kneel down and utter a short prayer, or pull off his hat with the greatest reverence; but at present, the number of crosses is greatly diminished, and the few that remain are but little noticed. They are commonly about twenty or thirty feet high, and adorned with all the instruments which the Jews are supposed to have employed in the crucifixion of our Saviour, viz. the hammer, nails, pincers, a flask of vinegar, sponge, ladder, and the spear with which the soldier pierced his side. The crown of thorns is placed in the centre of the cross, and the cock which crowed when Peter denied our Saviour is always placed at the top. Some of these crosses are railed in; and passing through St. Augustine on the Sunday I left Quebec, I saw several of the Canadian men and women

kneeling and praying, apparently with great devotion, till the sound of the calash passing drew their attention to a more irreverent object. One of the men who drove the calash that day, always crossed himself whenever we passed any of those holy mementos; the others never took any notice of them.

On my arrival at the post-house of Cape Madelaine, in Champlain, I embarked in a canoe for Three Rivers, that passage being generally preferred to the ferry, which is situated a few miles up the St. Maurice river. It took us nearly an hour to reach the town, as we had to pass outside of two islands seated at the entrance of the St. Maurice. This river, in disemboguing itself into the St. Lawrence, is divided into three channels by these two islands; from which circumstance it was denominated Three Rivers, and gave name to the town which is built at the confluence of the St. Lawrence, and one of the channels.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Town of Three Rivers—Houses—Streets—Musquitoes — Fleas — Baron La Hontan — Public Buildings—Fire at the Convent—Intrepidity of a Soldier—Escape of a Nun with an Emigrant Priest—New Convent—Visit to the Nuns of St. Ursule—Abbé de Calonne, Curé of the Convent—Portrait of the Grand Vicar—Setting Watches during the Litany—Monastery—Billiard Room—Canadian Fencibles—Deserters—Death of a Canadian—The Irish Landlady—Anecdote of Colonel T ——.—Trade of Three Rivers—Storekeepers—Visit to the Forges of St. Maurice—Iron Works — Brickmaker — Society — Party Spirit—The Election of Mr. Ezekiel Hart—Amusements—Scuffle in the Market Place—Swelled Necks—Mad Girl—Foundlings.

THE town of Three Rivers is situate on a light sandy soil. One part, towards the St. Maurice river, is considerably elevated, and commands a beautiful and extensive prospect of the St. Lawrence and opposite shore. The other part of the town lies nearly on a level with the water. The shore is notwithstanding bold and steep, and slopes

off abruptly into eighteen or twenty feet water, capable of admitting large vessels to lie close along-side; and, with the help of a couple of spars placed from the shore upon the deck of the vessel, to land their goods, and put them immediately into carts, which are backed over the spars as far as they can go, and receive them with great facility. This natural wharf is very convenient, and occasions little or no expense to the merchants.

Three Rivers is very small, compared with Montreal and Quebec; but in size it ranks as the third town in Lower Canada. It is, however, scarcely larger than some English villages. I was never able to ascertain the exact number of houses and inhabitants; but the former, I believe, do not exceed 250, nor the latter 1500. There are very few respectable-looking houses in the place; the rest are paltry wooden houses, containing a few rooms on the ground floor, and a garret above. Some of them are in better condition than others; but, for the most part, they appear to be falling to decay from neglect. It is very seldom that the houses in Canada have any paint bestowed upon them; but they are often white-washed: yet few in Three Rivers have even this decoration to recommend them.

The houses are mostly built with small intervals between them; apparently to prevent accidents from fire. The streets are narrow and unpaved;

and on a dry windy day the sand and dust fly about in clouds. The foot-paths are badly kept up by pieces of timber placed about three feet from the houses. Notwithstanding the inconveniences of the arid soil of Three Rivers, it has its advantages, inasmuch as you may walk out immediately after the heaviest rain without soiling your shoes.

The woods being almost close at the back of the town, favour the retreat of innumerable musquitoes and sand-flies. These, with the multitude of common flies which inhabit the town, are extremely troublesome in sultry weather. I was never particularly annoyed by any other insect; though, if any credit is due to the testimony of Baron la Hontan, Three Rivers must formerly have abounded with fleas. In his Travels he says, "A man that would live there must be of the like temper with a dog; or, at least, he must take pleasure in scratching his skin, for the fleas are there more numerous than the grains of sand." This assertion of the Baron I have, fortunately, never seen verified, and as I am not inclined to dispute his word, I will give all the merit to my fair countrywomen, who, since their settlement in the town, have, no doubt by their cleanly habits, expelled every thing that was before noxious and dirty.

The public buildings of Three Rivers are the convent of St. Ursule, the Roman Catholic church, the barracks, and the old monastery of the Recol-

lets, or Franciscan friars; which latter is now converted into a gaol, a court of justice, offices for the sheriff and prothonotary, a billiard-room, and an episcopalian chapel!

The convent of St. Ursule was founded in 1677, by M. de St. Valier, bishop of Quebec, for the education of female children, and as an asylum for the poor, the sick, and those who were tired of the world. The number of nuns at present does not amount to more than twenty; they are for the most part elderly women, and are governed by a superior. This nunnery was burnt down for the second time in 1806, and is not yet completely rebuilt. It is said that a nun set it on fire, in order to effect her escape with a man belonging to the town, to whom she was attached; at all events it appears suspicious that the fire should have originated in the belfry: the only possible means of it was from the friction of the wheel setting the bell-rope on fire. The nun who is suspected had to ring the bell that evening: she said that the moment she attempted to pull the rope it broke, and the flames burst out above her. The Canadian fencibles, who were then quartered in the town, were very active in saving the nuns and the property belonging to the convent. An old nun, who had been confined many years to her apartment, was with difficulty rescued from the devouring element. She refused to leave the place

in spite of every entreaty: a soldier, however, took her up in his arms, and was just making his way out of the window upon a ladder which was placed against it, when a young nun ran up to him crying, "Ah, mon Dieu, sauvez moi aussi—sauvez moi aussi." "Damn it," says the soldier, "why didn't you come before? Here I have been obliged to force this old woman away in order to save her, when I would rather have carried you in my arms; but come along, I'll try what I can do for you." Upon which the brave fellow took the young one upon his back, and the old one under his arm, and had contrived to get half way down, when unfortunately the ladder broke, and all three tumbled to the ground: they, however, luckily escaped with only a few bruises.

In consequence of the fire the nuns were distributed in the convents of Quebec and Montreal; and subscriptions were set on foot throughout the country for the purpose of building a new one. The funds of the Ursulines were very poor, and the British inhabitants, much to their honour, contributed in common with the French people in aid of the institution; a convincing proof of the unanimity of Catholics and Protestants in that country.

A few years ago an emigrant priest, who officiated as minister to the convent, and who is mentioned by Mr. Weld in his Travels as so amiable a man,

ran away with one of the young nuns, the daughter of a very respectable French gentleman. The priest took her to New York, where, as soon as he was satiated with her company, he left her and went to France. She was reduced to great distress, and wrote to her father to intercede with the bishop to allow her to return to the convent. I understand the bishop refused her request, and that she yet remains at New York. It was her sister, I am told, who interested Mr. Weld so much in her favour, by the melancholy which seemed to prey upon her lovely countenance. She died a few months after his visit of a broken heart, having entered the convent in consequence of a disappointment in love.

The new convent was opened early in 1808, for the reception of the nuns, though then not more than half finished. In the August following, after my return from the States, I visited it in company with Mr. Gugy the sheriff and some other gentlemen, having first obtained permission from the Grand Vicar. The superior received us at the second door with great politeness: her dress was the same as that of the nuns, which consists of a coarse black stuff gown, made extremely plain, and long waisted. Above this is a white linen head piece, which conceals all the hair, and covers the forehead almost to the eyebrows: over that a long black veil is thrown back. The white linen cloth comes

down on each side the face, close round the chin, and covers all the neck and bosom. It is remarkably white and smooth, and shows a pretty face to advantage: but in what will not a pretty face look well? The nuns of St. Ursule, however, whom I had the pleasure of seeing, had passed their grand climacteric, and of course were not well qualified to appear to advantage in such a dress, the superior excepted, who was really a fine handsome woman, and must have been a beautiful girl. She appeared to be about forty years of age, and had presided several years over the convent.

She took us through all the apartments, except such as were occupied by those nuns who did not wish to be seen. In consequence of the building being in an unfinished state, the nuns' beds were placed in two or three large rooms, until their respective apartments were completed. The house is very long, and built in the form of a cross: the chapel for the performance of mass is in the centre on the ground-floor; together with the refectory, the hall, and kitchen; the rooms for educating the children, and the apartments of the curé or minister, who resides in the convent, and performs the religious duties of the house and chapel. The present resident is the Abbé de Calonne, brother to the celebrated prime minister of Louis XVI. He was allowed by the English government to retire to Canada, and arrived in the autumn of 1807. He

is said to be a very amiable and accomplished man, and appears about sixty years of age.

The superior conducted us into the study of the Abbé de Calonne, but he was absent. He possesses a tolerable good library, in which I observed several English books, particularly Blair's Sermons. Two or three fine cabinet pictures were hung up in his apartment; and, together with the books, appeared to be the remnants of his former greatness. We afterwards proceeded upstairs, and were introduced to two or three old nuns, and as many novices, who were busily engaged with their needles; they all rose up on our entrance, and would not be seated while we remained. The novices were dressed like the other nuns, except that they wore a white, instead of a black, veil. They appeared to be strapping country wenches, about thirty years of age; and apparently better qualified to increase the population of the country than to waste their lives in celibacy. However, "Chacun à son goût, dans ce monde;" and as long as they devote their time to the care of the sick, and the education of youth, they are not useless members of society. The novitiate lasts for two years; after which, if they are still inclined to enter the order, they receive the black veil with great ceremany, and are immured for life.

A naval gentleman, who happened to be of our party, hearing that there was an English woman

among the nuns, was desirous of seeing her; upon which one of them stepped forward and spoke to him. This lady was a widow about forty, and had formerly been a lively dashing woman; but, being tired of the world, she renounced her religion and entered the convent. Her mother, Mrs. A——, of Three Rivers, who keeps the only English tavern in the town, was very much enraged when she found that her daughter had entered the nunnery, and went to the superior to demand her back again; but her request being refused, the old lady was not sparing of abuse, and lavished her invectives upon her daughter as well as the nuns.

We did not see more than ten or a dozen of the nuns; the rest either kept out of sight of their own accord, or by the desire of the superior. Those we saw were not calculated to inspire very tender sentiments, which made me suspect that the others were more likely to create impressions similar to those Mr. Weld experienced when he visited the same convent twelve years before: possibly the conduct of one of the nuns, since that period, had caused the superior to be more careful of throwing temptations in the way of the younger branches of her family. If those ladies, however, are debarred from the sight of real flesh and blood, they are allowed to feast their eyes upon the jolly figure and ruddy countenance of the grand vicar, whose portrait is hung up in the great bed-room,

The charitable and humane offices in which the nuns employ the greatest portion of their time are highly praiseworthy, and reflect much credit on those respectable women. We inquired for some of their bark-work, for which they have been celebrated by former travellers; but they informed us that their time was so much taken up in furnishing their rooms, that they were obliged to neglect it. Having seen all that was worthy of notice, we took our leave of the ladies, accompanied to the door by the superior and two or three nuns.

The French church, in which service is performed by the grand vicar and his assistants, is a plain stone building roofed with shingles painted red, and ornamented with a small belfry and spire covered with sheets of tin. In the interior is a handsome altar-piece, adorned with gilt ornaments, silver candlesticks, flagons, wax tapers, crucifixes, &c. The church is generally well attended, and in summer is often very crowded. During that season a great many people sit or kneel in the open air close by the doors, or under the windows of the church: they appear attentive to the service, which is sung loud enough for them to hear without. Immediately after mass is over, it is a frequent custom to sell the seats in the church by auction; the crowd of people assembled near the church door, bidding for pews, or listening to the noise of the

encanteur, forms a curious contrast to the solemn devotion that reigned on the same spot a few minutes before.

The English church is very small, being part of the chapel formerly occupied by the Franciscan friars, who resided in the adjoining building. The other part is appropriated to a court of justice, and is divided from the place of worship by a slight partition. It is only of late years that an English minister has resided in the town; and, from appearances, there seems very little occasion for him even now, was it not for the purpose of marrying, christening, and burying. Service is performed only on Sunday mornings; and there are not above a dozen of the English inhabitants who attend even that regularly. If it was not for the officers and soldiers of the Canadian fencibles, the clergyman would have to preach almost to empty pews.

It is true, that the number of English people is small when compared with that of the French; and of them there are three or four families of the Jewish persuasion: so that those who profess the Protestant religion certainly form but a very small proportion of the inhabitants. Yet there are more than enough to crowd the church; its emptiness cannot therefore be ascribed to the want of people to fill it, nor indeed is that the alleged cause. The inhabitants of Three Rivers are often agitated by

jealousy and party feuds; and those who fall out with the clergyman keep away from his church.

It is by no means creditable to the Protestant religion in Three Rivers, to see the French church overflowing, morning and afternoon, on Sundays, and open every day in the week besides; while the English church, not a fourth of the size, is shut up all the week except for two hours on Sunday morning, and then never half filled. A clock is also very much wanted at the English church, to prevent the practice of setting watches during the performance of divine service; for no sooner do the bells of the French church ring at twelve, and just as the clergyman is reading the litany, than out fly the watches in the very midst of 'Good Lord, deliver us,' or 'Spare us, good Lord;' so that the gentlemen are at once employed in regulating the time and praying for the good of their souls!

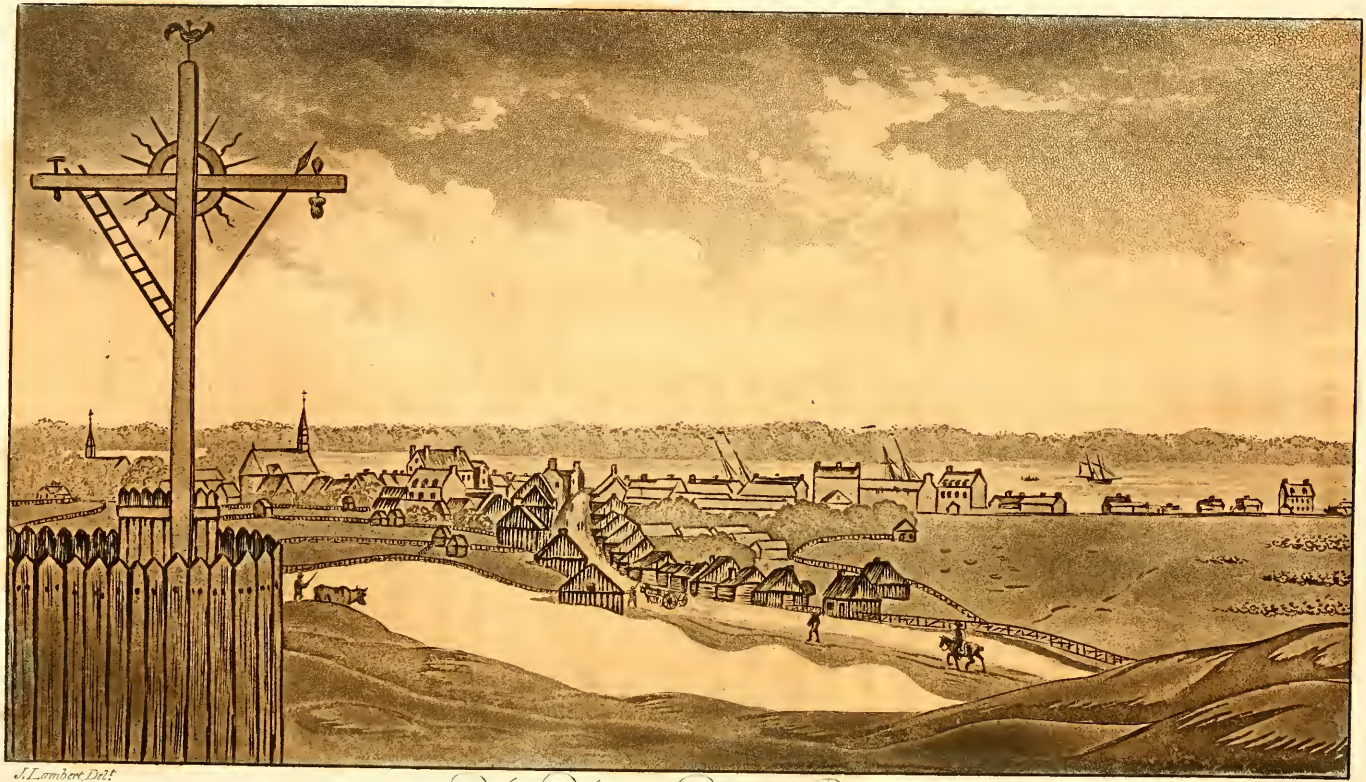
The recollet building is of stone, and much dilapidated. Next to the church and court house are the offices of the prothonotary; adjoining which, on the ground floor, are the rooms that are at present converted into a gaol. Above them are the sheriff's office and a subscription billiard-room. The table is very indifferent, but it is sufficient to afford the gentlemen of the town a few hours' amusement.

The building now occupied by the soldiers of the Canadian fencibles for barracks was formerly

the residence of the French governor. It is built of stone, and compared to the houses in the town is of considerable magnitude. It is situated on the most elevated part of the town, and has a court-yard in front, inclosed by a wall and gates. An old stone building near it is turned into a guard-house. On the right side of the barracks is an excellent garden, and on the left is a small lawn, where the soldiers are drilled and exercised.

The Canadian fencible regiment is commanded by Colonel Shank, who resides at Three Rivers. It was formerly raised in Scotland, and consisted of a thousand men; but in consequence of some misunderstanding the soldiers, who were all married men with large families, refused to embark for Canada: upon which the regiment was disbanded, and the officers, together with some of the non-commissioned officers, were sent out to Canada to recruit in that country. They have been out upwards of three years, and procured (in 1808) about 500 men, the majority of whom are French Canadians: there are also many Americans from the United States among them. Most of the officers are Scotchmen, and were employed in the American war: for their services on that occasion they had grants of land in the country. Colonel Shank particularly distinguished himself in some engagements during that contest. He afterwards commanded the Queen's Rangers, and

received from government a large tract of land in Upper Canada. The French Canadians make tolerable steady soldiers; but the Europeans that are picked up in different parts of the country are generally a drunken dissolute set, and give the officers a great deal of trouble by their frequent desertion. The province, of late years, has paid the inhabitants 10 or 12*l.* for every deserter they apprehend, and this has made the people very alert, so that few now can escape out of the country. In 1807 a Frenchman lost his life in attempting to apprehend two deserters of the 49th regiment. The soldiers had gone off with their muskets and a supply of ammunition. As soon as it was known, a party of the militia of Three Rivers was ordered out to intercept them. After some time they were traced to a barn in the neighbourhood of Beçancour: the militia, amounting to thirty or forty persons, surrounded the building, and while two of them were endeavouring to force the door open, one of the deserters inside fired his piece, and shot one of them through the body. This frightened the rest of the party so much that, together with their *commanding officer*, they took to their heels and made their escape; being of opinion that 'those who fight and run away, may live to fight another day.' The deserters were taken a few days after by a party of the Canadian fencibles under Captain de Haren,



J. Lambert Delt.

The Town of Three Rivers.

and were both hung at Three Rivers for the murder. The sheriff with great difficulty procured a man to hang them, for which he paid him upwards of twenty guineas.

The remains of two redoubts, or fortifications, thrown up by the English army in the American war, are still visible on the common, and upon the hill at the back of the town. The latter commands the whole of Three Rivers, and is furnished with a well in the centre for supplying the soldiers with water. A large cross is erected near the spot, adorned with the instruments used at the crucifixion of our Saviour, and other ornaments. From this redoubt I drew the view of Three Rivers which accompanies this work.

There are several small taverns or public-houses in Three Rivers, kept by French Canadians; but only one decent house for the accommodation of respectable travellers, and that unfortunately is kept by an old lady who is more fond of scolding her customers than obliging them. Few gentlemen who are strangers to her humour ever stop at her house without experiencing the effects of her tongue. They enter the tavern in an authoritative manner, expecting to find its inhabitants as pliant and submissive as their brethren in England; instead of which the old lady either turns upon her heel, and disdains to notice them, or, sticking her arms a-kimbo, asks them by what

authority they give themselves such airs, and often shows them to the door. As to the gentlemen's servants who frequently affect more than their masters, she never hesitates to turn them out of the house if they refuse to put up with the kitchen.

Colonel T——, inspecting field officer of the militia, in Canada, who had recently arrived from England, met with a curious reception from the old lady in passing through Three Rivers for Montreal. He put up at her house for the evening, and asked for rooms for his family and servants: "*There* is one room, and *here* is another," says she; "they are all you can have in my house, and if you don't like them you may go elsewhere." "Do you know who I am?" says the Colonel. "No," says Mrs. A——, "nor do I care a d—n who you are." "Then you must know, madam, that I am Colonel T——, inspecting field officer, &c." "I don't care who the devil you are," rejoined the old lady; "I have had colonels, generals, *princes*, and majors in my house, and don't care a fig for them more than other people. *There's* the two rooms; if you don't choose to put up with them, you may leave the house." The Colonel thought it most prudent to lower his tone a little, and make the best he could of the old woman and her rooms till the next morning, when he set off for Montreal. Mrs. A——, nevertheless, has

her good qualities, for though she gives every one to understand, that her terms are six shillings a day, eat or not eat, in her house; yet if they do not give themselves the airs of great people, she seldom charges for more than what they actually receive. But she is the complete Wapping landlady, swears like a trooper, scolds from morning to night when the whim takes her, and delights in what she calls *humbling the great folks.* To those who are unacquainted with her humour, it is rather unpleasant putting up at her house. She, however, prides herself on having every thing neat, clean, and well cooked; and it being the only British tavern in the town, she does not fail to take advantage of her customers.

This old lady is the mother of the nun who I mentioned had entered the convent after the death of her husband, and abjured her religion. She has also two sons, one of them is an apothecary of some eminence at Montreal.

There is only one private boarding-house at Three Rivers. It is kept by an English gentlewoman, whose husband was formerly a respectable merchant at Montreal. Her terms are reasonable, and some of the officers of the Canadian regiment board at her house, which is more convenient for those who remain any time in the town, than living at the Tavern.

The trade of Three Rivers is confined chiefly

to the supplying of the inhabitants of the town and surrounding country with European manufactured goods and West India produce. The family of the Harts, who are Jews, carry on nearly all the business that is transacted in the town. There are four brothers, three of whom reside in Three Rivers, and have separate stores. The other, Alexander Hart, resides at Montreal. They are said to be possessed of considerable property, and besides the stores which they keep, deal largely in furs, potash, &c. One of them is a manufacturer of pot- and pearl-ash, and a brewer of ale and spruce beer. They purchase most of the furs brought down from the interior by a small party of Indians who pay an annual visit to Three Rivers. This trade, which a century and a half ago was the total support of the town, is now greatly diminished. The agents of the North-west company are scattered over every part of the interior, and much money has been sunk in order to monopolize the whole of the fur trade. But a few of the Indians from the back country choose to bring their furs to the Harts at Three Rivers, and receive European goods and money in exchange, very often to a considerable amount. An Indian once gave Mr. E. Hart 60 guineas for a clock, and five guineas for a brilliant ring to decorate the finger of his squaw. A store-keeper of Three Rivers told me, that an Indian one day

asked him the price of a small chest of *gunpowder* tea, which he had in his store for sale; but thinking it was only idle curiosity that made him ask, he told him, rather roughly, to go about his business. Upon this the Indian immediately went to another store, a few doors further, and gave four or five guineas for a little canister of that fine tea, which he carried away with him under his dirty blanket. Many of the Indians, who are fond of dress, will go to a great expense in the purchase of silver ornaments, and superfine scarlet or blue cloth, coloured silk, &c. with which they decorate themselves in a costly manner. During their stay, they encamp about a mile from the town, and are generally in a state of intoxication the whole time, so that when they return in the autumn to their hunting-grounds they have most commonly spent all their money. They are then obliged to go in debt to the Harts, sometimes to the amount of several hundred dollars, which they punctually repay in furs the following year. But if they die in the mean time, the money is lost.

There are but few other stores of any consideration in Three Rivers, and they are kept chiefly by French people. Mr. Burns, who keeps a store by the water-side, has the advantage of the rest, being a licensed auctioneer; so that, whenever he finds business a little flat, he advertises an

auction on the morning of the market days, when the Habitans come over from the opposite shore to dispose of their provisions, and frequently takes thirty or forty pounds on those occasions. The stores of Canada contain almost every description of goods that can be named, and exhibit a motley collection of woollen-drapery, haberdashery, hosiery, linen-drapery, grocery, cheesemongery, stationery, ironmongery, and the contents of the oil-shop, the gin-shop, and the wine-vaults. The store-keepers charge from 50 to 100 per cent. profit upon most of their goods, and sometimes a great deal more. The Harts import a considerable portion of their goods from England, the rest they purchase at the Quebec auctions; they also deal largely in pot- and pearl-ashes and furs, which they remit to England.

A store belonging to Messrs. Munro and Bell, of Quebec, is established at Three Rivers, for the sale of the cast-iron stoves, potash kettles, and bar-iron, manufactured at the St. Maurice forges, which belong to those gentlemen. The store is superintended by Mr. Graves, and the forges by Mr. M'Cauley. In consequence of an invitation from these gentlemen during my stay at Three Rivers in August 1808, a party of us went to see the iron-works. The road to them is through the woods, at the back of the town, over an elevated

sandy soil diversified with gentle acclivities, and covered with a variety of fir- and pine-trees; none of them, however, grow to any great height.

After a pleasant ride of about eight miles, we came to the verge of a lofty cliff, down which the road meanders into an extensive valley where the works are situated. Here the manufactories, the furnaces, forges, and work-shops; the barns, stables, and out-houses; the habitations of the superintendant and work people belonging to the establishment, with their little gardens and plantations, form altogether a small town. The river St. Maurice, which runs close by the side of the valley, between two lofty banks covered with trees, considerably heightens the beauty of the scene, and, with the surrounding woods and distant mountains, renders its situation truly romantic. The works are conducted by a superintendant and two clerks, with a foreman to each branch of business. There is one foundry, with a large furnace for the purpose of casting stove plates, potash kettles, machinery for mills, &c. I saw the process of modelling and casting, which is conducted with much skill. It was a remarkably hot day, and when they began to cast the heat was intolerable. The men dipped their ladles into the melted ore, and carried it from the furnace to the moulds, with which the floor of the foundry was covered. After they were all filled,

they took off the frames while the stove plates and potash kettles were red hot, and swept off the sand with a broom and water. The sand for moulding is imported in casks from England; and I was told that each cask costs them upwards of nine dollars. The sand of the country, which is in abundance in the vicinity of the forges, does not answer for that work. Forty or fifty horses are employed, and upwards of 300 men, more or less, according to the work in hand. They make use of charcoal only, for melting the ore; and the neighbouring woods supply them with abundance of fir and pine for that purpose. It is reckoned superior to mineral coal for the use of the furnace. A great portion of the men are employed in making the charcoal and carting it to the works, digging ore, and conducting the *batteaux* on the St. Maurice to and from the store at Three Rivers. The river answers extremely well for that kind of craft, but is not deep enough for larger vessels; the current is also very rapid in many places.

The works were established by the French in 1737. The individuals who formed themselves into a company could not make them answer, and the works were purchased by the crown: but, from mismanagement, they could never be brought to pay the expenses attending them. Yet an intendant and upwards of *fourteen* clerks

contrived to grow rich upon the loss. They made the stove plates at that time *two inches thick!* The hammers at the forges, the bellows at the foundry, and some other machinery, are worked by water; only bar iron and ploughshares are made at the forges. The iron is reckoned equal, if not superior, to the best Swedish iron: it is extremely malleable, and rusts but little; it is preferred by the Canadians to any other iron. I have heard that the present proprietors of the works, at the commencement of their taking them, in order to push the sale of their bar iron, which was at that time inconsiderable, purchased a large stock of very inferior British iron, and knowing that the Habitans regarded the price more than the quality, they sold it to them for a trifle less than the Three Rivers iron; but the British iron was so bad, that when they came to use it, "sacre diable," they would have no more; and the next time bought the Three Rivers iron, which being really of a good quality, has continued in reputation among them ever since.

The workmen are paid according to the quantity of work they perform. The forges are going night and day, and the men are relieved every six hours. But at the foundry, only the men employed in supplying the furnace work in the same manner; those who cast and finish the stoves, &c. work from sun-rise to sun-set, which is the

usual time among the French Canadians all the year round; a great advantage is therefore derived by carrying on any work in summer instead of winter. The workpeople are chiefly French Canadians, a few English only, being employed in making models, and as foremen or principal workmen. The iron work is sent to the store at Three Rivers in batteaux, and shipped by Mr. Graves to Quebec, or Montreal, as required; or sold to the people of the neighbourhood. They make about 1000 stoves per annum; the small single stoves sell for 3*l.* and the larger sort for 6*l.* each. The double stoves, which have an oven at the top, are sold for 10 or 12*l.* according to the size. Potash kettles sell from 20 to 25*l.* each. Fresh veins of ore are daily discovered, and purchased at a trifling price of the people in whose land it is found. Messrs. Munro and Bell had incurred great expense in collecting ore and improving the works at the expiration of their lease in 1806, and would have given 1,200*l.* per annum, it is said, rather than it should have gone into any other hands. They certainly deserve great praise for their liberal exertions, which though of course prompted by their own interest are yet very beneficial to the colony. A fair bargain might, however, have been struck between them and the government, for surely 60*l.* per annum is too little for what they had before paid 800*l.* per annum,

and particularly as the works are in a progressive state of improvement and prosperity*.

Most of the large bark canoes for the North-west Company are made at Three Rivers; and several women in the town make a variety of handsome toys, pocket-books, purses, work-baskets, pin-cushions, &c. of bark, curiously ornamented with flowers worked on the bark with elk hair dyed of various colours. The Indians make a few bark works of an inferior description.

At a short distance from the town there is a brick-maker, and I believe the only one in Canada. The bricks are nearly of the same size as those in England, but not quite so thick; they are of a deep red, and are made in a peculiar manner. Instead of throwing the clay in a mould, it is spread out to a great extent on a smooth piece of ground, of the thickness of one brick, the clay is then cut into parallelograms, each of which is afterwards subdivided into nine bricks; they are then left to dry, and when sufficiently hard, are taken up and piled in stacks, after which they are formed into a kiln and burnt as in England. I do not think this method of brick-making is so easy and expeditious as ours; it is, however, practised in the East Indies and some other parts.

* I understand that these forges have since been relet to Munro and Bell upon more equitable terms.

The genteel society of Three Rivers is very small, and consists of the officers of the Canadian regiment, the provincial judge, sheriff, English and French advocates; the Protestant and Catholic clergy; the grand voyer of the district; the colonel of militia; and the family of the Harts, who are the only merchants or storekeepers that are classed among the gentry of Three Rivers. The persons whom I have enumerated form with their families, and a few other individuals, the whole of the higher order of society in that town. It might naturally be expected that among so few the utmost harmony and good-will would prevail; but unfortunately, that is not the case, for not half a dozen people in the place can be said to associate together in real friendship.

In a small town it happens that the private histories of its inhabitants are easily known to each other, and it is seldom but there is something in them which affords room for satirical animadversion. One of the greatest weaknesses of human nature is the delight which people seem to take in pointing out the blemishes of their neighbours rather than their good qualities. They think by such exposure to hide their own defects, and that they will not be suspected of doing that which they condemn in others; it is this which gives rise to what is called *scandal*. In small societies, there is also a continual struggle and competition

for pre-eminence; every one wishes to be thought of more consequence than his neighbour; and whether it is birth, riches, personal qualifications, or *the possession of an office*, each prides himself on that which in his opinion gives him a superiority over the rest, whom he treats with contempt in proportion as he values his own consequence. These, to be sure, are frailties to which mankind are more or less subject; but they are such as should be corrected and guarded against as much as any other faults which we may be guilty of. Perhaps there is no crime more injurious to the well-being and comfort of society than *scandal;* it destroys the peace and happiness of individuals, introduces discord in families, and cuts asunder the social and friendly ties which ought to bind us to each other. All confidence is destroyed between man and man, and each becomes a spy upon the other's conduct; slight blemishes are then magnified into heinous vices, and good actions distorted into selfish views or ostentatious extravagance. In short, it unhinges the human frame, and transforms the image of God into a fiend of darkness.

Notwithstanding the society of Three Rivers is thus broken and disjointed at times, it is something in its favour, that the bickerings and disputes which prevail among the inhabitants are engendered by the elections which have taken place

within the last two or three years, and not by malicious or quarrelsome dispositions. Before that period the people of Three Rivers, I am told, were remarkable for their friendly and social habits. The best friends, it is said, become the worst enemies, and the election of Mr. Ezekiel Hart to a seat in the provincial parliament seems to have been the torch which has set the whole town in a blaze.

The family of the Harts having acquired very considerable property, they naturally wished to acquire importance with it, and the eldest brother started as a candidate at the election of 1807, upon the death of one of the members of the provincial parliament; though God knows there is but little consequence or respect attached to a seat in that house. The father of the Harts originally emigrated from England to Canada, and during the American war acquired property to a considerable amount. He settled at Three Rivers, where he opened an extensive store. He died about six or seven years ago, and left the bulk of his property to his children, three of whom have since opened separate stores. By indefatigable attention to business, and profiting by the follies of others, they have each realized a large property, most of which, that is not employed in trade, consists of houses and land situated in seigniories and townships; the greatest part of which has been bought

remarkably cheap at sheriffs' sales. Their property has thus given them much influence among the people in the town and district, many of whom are beholden to them for assistance.

At the election, which was sharply contested, Mr. Ezekiel Hart was chosen. The idea of a tradesman, and a Jew, being elected a member of parliament, naturally irritated the unsuccessful candidates and their party so much, that the flames of acrimonious party spirit immediately spread through the town, and have never yet been extinguished. Their violence has in some degree subsided, but the embers still smother in secret. When Mr. Hart attended at Quebec to take his seat, he met with violent opposition from the French members, upon the ground of his religion; and though he took the prescribed oath, they would not allow him to sit. These gentlemen surely opposed him with a very ill grace, if it was merely on account of his religion; but I rather suspect, they wished to keep the majority on their side, and, if possible, to get a French instead of an English member into the house. The laws which permit them to sit in the house contain no disqualifying clause on account of religion. When the parliament was dissolved in the summer of 1808, by the new Governor-general, Mr. Hart was again chosen for the town of Three Rivers by a large majority. As the parliament

did not meet till the following winter, I had not an opportunity of ascertaining whether he was permitted to take his seat. In a country like Canada, where the number of French so far exceeds that of the British settlers, and where every religion is tolerated without any prejudice or hindrance whatever to its professors, surely it would be a great hardship to deprive a man of property, a good subject, and possessing abilities inferior to few who already sit there, of a seat in the provincial parliament, merely because he was a Jew. The laws of Canada do not authorize such a thing, nor ought the British government to suffer it. The whole family of the Harts, whatever might have been their origin, (and I have my doubts whether it is inferior to nine-tenths of the present British settlers in Canada,) are respectable both for their conduct and situation in life; and it is generally allowed that, without them, Three Rivers would, in point of commerce, lose what little importance it at present possesses.

The amiable family of Mr. Ross Cuthbert, as it is the first in the town for respectability, so it is the foremost in endeavouring to reconcile the differences of its neighbours, and to suppress the little jealousies and party feuds that agitate the place. Mr. Ross Cuthbert is the youngest of three brothers, who are proprietors of the seigniory of Berthier. He is also an eminent advocate,

and as much distinguished for his talents, and for his free, open, and generous character, as his sister (who resides with him) is distinguished for her beauty, accomplishments, and amiable disposition. Mrs. Ross Cuthbert is a very charming woman, and daughter of the celebrated Dr. Rush of Philadelphia.

Mr. Gugy, the sheriff, is a Swiss gentleman, and formerly held a commission in one of the Swiss regiments under Louis XVI.; but in consequence of the Revolution went over to Canada with his father and the rest of the family, and settled upon the seigniory of Machiche, which had devolved to them on the death of a relation. Mr. Gugy possesses an amiable, gentlemanly character, and talents that deserve a post of more importance than the shrievalty of Three Rivers. The profits of that office are fluctuating, but generally average about 500*l.* per annum, which arises chiefly out of the sale of lands, and from law-suits. A son of the celebrated Judge Blackstone occupied the office of sheriff a few years ago, but in consequence of some inattention to the duties of the situation was superseded. I have been told that Mr. Blackstone was rather harshly treated in that affair. He still resides at Three Rivers as a private gentleman, upon a small annuity. He was educated at the University of Oxford, and is said to be possessed of considerable abilities.

A French gentleman of the name of D'Ailleboust resides in the town, whose ancestor was governor of Three Rivers and Montreal nearly a century and a half ago. He possesses a respectable independency, which enables him to pass his time agreeably, by gallanting the ladies in the morning, and playing at whist, cribbage, or piquet with them in the evening. He is a pleasant, lively man, and is in much request at the Three River routs, tea parties, *conversazioni* and *petits soupers*.

The amusements of Three Rivers consist of the beforementioned parties, and a few dances in the winter. Sometimes assemblies are held at one of the taverns; in which there is a subscription ball once a fortnight during the winter season: but unless the genteel part of the society are on good terms with each other, very few attend, and scarcely enough can be found to make up a dance. In the winter of 1807 the military gentlemen subscribed, but would not attend because some persons were admitted whom they disapproved of; in consequence of which there was a paucity of gentlemen, which obliged the ladies to take one another for partners, and dance down by themselves.

Concerts and plays are unknown in Three Rivers, unless sometimes a few strollers arrive from the States, and pass through the town on

their way to Quebec. The last summer I was there, a man and his wife amused the inhabitants for a few nights by dancing blindfold over a dozen eggs, singing Tid-re-i, and murdering some of the finest passages in English plays.

The post from Quebec and Montreal arrives at Three Rivers on Tuesdays and Fridays, in the forenoon. The couriers, after delivering their letters for this town at the post-office, receive the letters for the other towns, and continue on their route, the one for Montreal and the other for Quebec. The courier from Montreal generally arrives an hour or two earlier than the other, which gives the inhabitants time to answer the letters of their Montreal correspondents before the Quebec post arrives; but they are obliged to wait an interval of two or three days, till the next post day, before they can answer the letters of their Quebec correspondents, as the courier from Montreal proceeds immediately on his route to Quebec, after delivering his letters at Three Rivers. This is a great inconvenience to the inhabitants of that town, particularly those in business. It might, however, be easily remedied by a regulation enjoining the couriers to be at Three Rivers together at a certain hour, and to wait one hour after the delivery of their letters before they departed for Quebec and Montreal. This interval would be sufficient to afford the inhabitants an opportunity

of immediately answering their correspondents at both towns.

The market is held twice a week on the post days; and in general the supplies are scarcely sufficient for the consumption of the town. The country people come from Champlain across the St. Maurice river, and from Beçancour on the opposite shore of the St. Lawrence. They arrive at Three Rivers in the summer as early as five o'clock in the morning, and most of the inhabitants are in the market place frequently an hour before their arrival, in order to have their choice of the provisions. By eight o'clock the market is generally over. A law prevails which forbids the country people from selling their provisions before they are taken to the market place; but the gentlemen (for the ladies very rarely go to market) are so eager to purchase, that they go down to the water side, look over the provisions in the canoes, single out whatever they prefer, and follow the Habitans into the market, where they purchase it. In consequence of this eagerness some curious scuffles frequently take place for the possession of a brace of partridges, a quarter of lamb, or a fine salmon. A *little* member of parliament, one morning, having singled out a couple of fowls in the Habitant's canoe, followed the man to the market, intending to purchase them. It so happened, however, that a *tall* colonel of the army at that

very moment fixed his eyes upon the same fowls without knowing that any person had bought them (as it were by anticipation) before him. No sooner, therefore, did the Habitant arrive in the market-place than the colonel immediately pounced upon the fowls, and asked the price of them ; for it is a custom in the Canadian markets to take possession of the article first, and bargain afterwards ; otherwise, while one was haggling another would throw down the money and go off with it. Scarce had the colonel grasped the poultry when the little member of parliament, whose attention had been called off by a fine large salmon that had just arrived, looked up in the officer's face and cried out, "Sir, they are my fowls."—"How came they to be yours," said the officer, "when I followed the man to the market?"—"I followed him first," replied the other.—"But I got possession first," rejoined the officer: and as possession is nine points of the law, he was determined to keep the poultry. Some sharp words, however, escaped from the little man, and the officer shook a large stick over his head, which caused the member of parliament to jump from one side of the market-place to the other, for one blow would perhaps have annihilated him ; upon which the officer marched off triumphantly with his fowls.

Many of the females at Three Rivers are troubled with wens, swelled necks, and other disorders

of the throat, as mumps, swelling of the glands, &c. In other parts of Canada there are but few who are afflicted with those complaints; but in Three Rivers they seem to be more general, particularly among the women. I have never heard the cause of them satisfactorily accounted for. Some are of opinion that they are occasioned by the *well-water* of the town; others, that they are caused by the water of the St. Lawrence, which is impregnated with snow and ice upwards of six months in the year. If swelled necks were occasioned by snow-water, I should think they would not be so peculiar to Three Rivers, and that they would prevail equally at Quebec and Montreal, where the river-water is used in abundance. It is certain, however, that in some of the mountainous parts of Switzerland and Styria the women have large wens and swellings on their necks, called by physicians *bronchocele*, which are supposed to arise from the frequent use of snow-water. It is possible, therefore, that the same disease in Canada may arise, in some measure, from a similar cause.

In other respects Three Rivers is favourable to health, and possesses a more steady climate than Quebec, which being situated in the neighbourhood of so many lofty mountains, is oftener subject to rain and frequent variations of the weather. In the summer of 1807 Three Rivers was visited by the influenza, which had proceeded gradually

from south to north, through the United States to Canada, like a destructive blast. In the southern parts of the continent it was so violent as to occasion the death of several persons; but before it reached Canada its force was nearly spent. It was nevertheless sufficient to afford plenty of employment for the medical gentlemen. At Quebec the symptoms were much slighter than at Montreal and Three Rivers, where some people were confined to their beds upwards of a fortnight with it.

A mad girl, about twenty years of age, is confined in a little hut under the care of a French Canadian a short distance from the town. She is chained to the side of the room on account of her violence. The winter before last she was suffered to go about, to the disgrace of the town. She is now under the care of commissioners appointed by an act of the provincial parliament to provide for the maintenance of insane persons and idiots. This lunatic is the only instance in Three Rivers; but in Quebec and Montreal there are several who are permitted to stroll about the streets, and are often a great nuisance to the inhabitants. One of them, at Quebec, I have frequently seen beat his head against a stone wall, uttering the most impious curses: for it unfortunately happens, that if any money is given them, they immediately spend it in rum, and thus increase their paroxysms of madness or idiotism. As there are hospitals for

their reception, it is disgraceful to permit them to be at large.

Small as the town of Three Rivers is, the number of foundlings placed under the care of a poor person to bring up is equal, in proportion to its population, to the number of children at the Foundling Hospital in London. It would be creditable to the inhabitants of Three Rivers could I say that they are as well taken care of as in London: but the contrary is the case; for, in consequence of the scanty allowance for their support, little attention is paid to them, and I am told that few live to maturity. This culpable neglect is highly disgraceful; for there either ought not to be a receptacle of the kind, or it should be placed upon a respectable footing.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Leave Three Rivers—Voyage to Montreal—Point du Lac—Baron de Beçancour—Lake St. Peter—Machiche—River du Loup—Richlieu Islands—Town of Sorel—Horrid Murders—Captain Sorel—Chambly—Boucherville—Eagle Island—Island of Montreal—Rapids—Incredible Anecdote—Island of St. Helen—City of Montreal—Ignorance of a Pilot—Interior of Montreal—Dillon's Hotel—Parade—M'Tavish's Monument—Convents—Franciscan Friars—Paul-Street—Notre Dame Street—View of Montreal Theatre—Public Amusements—Hospitality—Ship-building—Advice to Gentlemen respecting European Servants—Useful Hints—Markets—Turnpike Road—Visit to La Chine—Indian Department—Visit to the Indians at Cachenonaga—Indian Doll—Chevalier Lorimier—Distressing Event—Providential Deliverance—Adventures of Captain John—His Daughter—Love and Revenge—Roman Catholic Funerals—Leave Montreal.

On the 31st of October 1807 I left Three Rivers for Montreal, in order to proceed to the United States, where I intended to pass the winter pre-

vious to my return to England. There being a fair wind up the river, I embarked on board a large schooner with a good stock of provisions for the voyage. The master of the vessel, M. Boudrow, was a respectable young Canadian who had originally been bred to the law, but had quitted the desk for the deck. About four in the afternoon we got under weigh, but proceeded no further than the entrance to Lake St. Peter, where we anchored for the night. The accommodation on board was wretched, and I had to sleep upon the cabin lockers, wrapped up in my great coat. We lay about nine miles from Three Rivers, between the seigniory of Nicolet on the south-east shore and Point du Lac on the north-west shore. The seigniories of Nicolet, Godefroi, Beçancour, Gentilly, &c. on the south-east are extremely fertile, well-settled, and yield large crops of wheat. The small lake St. Paul, situated in Beçancour, and discharging itself into the St. Lawrence by a small river that runs through Godefroi, adds greatly to the value of the land in its vicinity ; and the neat farms along its shores give it a delightful appearance. The village and seigniory of Beçancour received their name from the Baron de Beçancour, grand surveyor of the highways, and grand master of the waters and forests of New France. This nobleman resided about a century ago at the entrance of Beçancour River, formerly called 'Riviere Puante,' or Stinking River, in consequence of the waters having

been infected by the dead bodies of a number of Indians who were slain while coming down the river in their canoes: their enemies lay in ambush, and sent a few of their warriors on the river as a decoy; the others fell into the snare and were massacred. The Baron carried on a lucrative trade for furs with the Indians who lived in the village, but his extensive seigniory was not settled till 1750. It now belongs to Colonel Bruyère of the engineers; and a small fief to Mr. Ezekiel Hart. Several of the Abenaquis Indians still inhabit the village of Beçancour, and possess a small island in the river.

On the north-west shore the soil from Three Rivers to Point du Lac, and for several miles above and below those places, is of a light sandy nature, intermixed in several places with a sort of clay or marl, which occasions it to be more productive than it otherwise would be. The seigniory of Point du Lac is the property of Mrs. Montour, the widow of a gentleman formerly a partner in the North-west company. He retired with about 20,000*l.* with which he purchased the seigniory, and erected a handsome dwelling-house, large flour- and saw-mills, &c. If he had managed his concerns with prudence, he might have increased his fortune to a great extent; but his style of living, his free and generous disposition, were ill calculated for the accumulation of property. His

house, being situated near the post-road, was a house of call for all his numerous acquaintance, who ate, drank, and slept there, whenever they travelled that road. In a few years his money was gone, and most of those who had basked in the sunshine of his prosperity took their leave. This too often happens with the gentlemen of the North-west company who retire from the concern. They emerge suddenly into civilized life, after a banishment of many years in dreary forests and among a race of savages; and are apt to be dazzled by the glare of refinement and luxury, whose temptations are too powerful to be resisted. Hence they are frequently led into error and extravagance, which ultimately despoil them of their hard-earned property.

The next morning at day-break we got under weigh; but the wind falling off, we could but just reach the other end of the lake, and came to anchor near one of the Richlieu islands, situated within two or three miles of the town of Sorel. The lake is twenty-one miles in length, and about eighteen in breadth. This part of the River St. Lawrence is very shallow, and vessels drawing twelve feet water frequently get aground. In the spring it is somewhat deeper; but the large vessels from Europe seldom arrive in time to go up to Montreal so early in the season. I should think that greater depths of water might be found if the lake was properly surveyed: at present vessels

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Town of Sorel, Lower Canada.

keep only in one channel, which has but little more than twelve feet water. The current of Lake St. Peter is very slight, and requires little wind for vessels to stem it.

On the north-west shore, from Point du Lac, are the seigniories of Machiche, River du Loup, Maskinongé, York, and Berthier. They are remarkable for their fertility, and the plentiful crops of wheat which they produce. They have also each a small village in the vicinity of the parish church. That of River du Loup is prettily situated on the border of the river of that name, which disembogues itself into the lake. The church, which is of unusual size, and evinces the populousness of the seigniory, has been built in a costly manner; and many of the Habitans have paid fifty or sixty pounds towards the building of it. It has two lofty spires covered with tin; but they seem to have lost their perpendicular position, though lately erected. In the month of August 1808, after my return from the States, I travelled by land from Three Rivers to Montreal, and had an opportunity of passing through these seigniories. They appear better cultivated, and in a higher state of improvement than any other part of Lower Canada below Montreal. The farmers are wealthy and numerous, and the land rich and productive. In many places I noticed large patches of fine hemp, above seven feet in height; the seed had been roughly thrown

on the ground, and it came up without having had the least care or attention bestowed upon it.

The seigniories on the south-west shore of the lake are nearly as fertile, and yield plentiful crops of wheat. The inhabitants are not so numerous, owing most likely to the disadvantage of not having a post road on their side of the river; but they are possessed of considerable property. The islands of Richlieu, situated at the south-west entrance of the lake, and amongst which we lay at anchor, are numerous, and of various sizes; they lie between the seigniories of Berthier and Ymasca. Several of them are partly cleared of their woods, and afford good pasturage for cattle. They lie very low, and are always overflowed in the spring, when the lake is swelled by the melting of the ice and snow. They abound with a variety of wild fowl, principally duck and teal. I do not understand there are any animals upon them except those of a domestic nature. As we had to remain among these islands the next day in consequence of a foul wind, I amused myself by going ashore to the one nearest the vessel. It was covered with trees of a small growth, chiefly ash and birch, and with a variety of shrubs, brush-wood, and long grass. The wild grape vines were entwined round the trees in great plenty, and a few bunches were still hanging upon them. On the island was a small hut, in which we found an old French woman.

Her husband was gone round on the other side to fish. They reside there during the summer, and fish in the narrow channels formed by the cluster of islands.

The next morning we weighed anchor, and in half an hour were clear of the islands. A gentle breeze carried us slowly past the town of Sorel on our left: it is situated at the entrance of the Richlieu, Chambly, or Sorel river, (for it has all three names), which runs into Lake Champlain, and has a respectable appearance from the water: it is somewhat smaller than Three Rivers, and is inhabited by several English and French families. The streets are prettily laid out, but the houses are yet very thinly scattered. Sorel, indeed, seems rather on the decline, both in wealth and population; and the few stores that are kept there are mostly dependent upon the merchants of Montreal and Quebec. Its trade is confined to supplying the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood with English manufactured goods, West-India produce, &c. The little importance that was formerly attached to Sorel, arose from the ship-building carried on there for some years; but of late that has entirely ceased.

The country people in the vicinity are mostly employed as voyageurs in the North-west fur-trade, and the cultivation of their small farms is left to their wives and children. When they return

home, they seldom bring more than enough to support them during the winter. The soil is thus neglected, and the town is badly supplied with provisions. Three horrid murders were committed here about twelve or thirteen years ago. A store, kept by an old man, was observed one morning not opened as usual: the neighbours knocked at the door; but not getting admittance, they broke it open, and discovered the old man and his niece, who lived with him, lying dead behind the counter. It appeared that they must have been just called from supper to serve the villain who had murdered them, for the supper things were laid out on the table in an adjoining parlour. The till was emptied of all the money, and many articles strewed about the floor.

The very next night, to the dread and astonishment of this little town, another man was murdered in his store in a similar manner, and his money stolen; but what was most surprising, the murderer remained undiscovered, and even unsuspected! nor was it ever positively ascertained who had been guilty of such atrocious deeds. But when the foreman of the ship-yard, an European, decamped a few days after with the wife of a tradesman in the town, strong suspicions were entertained that he was the murderer. He however made his escape into the United States before any measures could be taken to apprehend him.

A fort was constructed originally on the site of the town in 1665, as a defence against the Iroquois. M. de Sorel, a captain in the regiment of Carignon Salieres, superintended the erection of the works, and gave his name to the place, and to that part of the river in its vicinity. It is now called William Henry, in honour of the Duke of Clarence, who visited Canada about twenty-five years ago. The Island of St. John, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, has also been called Prince Edward's Island, in honour of the Duke of Kent; and several other parts and places have had their names unnecessarily changed. It is owing to this absurd practice that towns and cities, venerable for their antiquity, or remarkable for their history, in various parts of the world, are now confounded with the most insignificant villages, and often occasion many erroneous statements in geography.

Several miles up the Richlieu river, is Fort Chambly, originally a mere wooden block-house, but now a substantial stone building bearing some resemblance to a castle. It was constructed by M. de Chambly under the French government. A small detachment of troops are stationed here; and a few respectable Canadians reside in the neighbourhood.

As we passed Sorel, the protestant and catholic churches, with the houses, stores, and magazines near the water-side, had a very pretty effect. The

shores on both sides the St. Lawrence, together with the small islands interspersed in several parts of the river, presented a succession of beautiful landscapes during the remainder of my voyage to Montreal. The richness of the soil and the number of inhabitants increase as you proceed up the river. The houses and villages are prettily scattered along the banks, and intermingled with clusters of trees and cultivated plantations. Boucherville, a small village situated on the south-east shore, a few miles below Montreal, is a beautiful spot, and forms the quiet retreat of several of the old French noblesse, and people of ancient and respectable families. Here they spend their small incomes in a little society of their own, far from the noise and bustle of the world, and enjoy at once the pleasures of retirement and social intercourse.

Near " Bout de l'Isle," or the end of the island of Montreal, the river is intersected by a number of small isles and islets. One, named Eagle Island, is the property of Captain Cartwright of the Canadian fencibles, and was celebrated for some excellent horses which he reared upon it. It contains only his own house, in which he resided for several years with his family. The surrounding scenery is beautiful, and must afford a delightful retreat to those who are fond of rural felicity. Within view of this island is the ferry which crosses from the post-road at Repentigny to the end of the Island

of Montreal. A bridge was formerly built over the river in the vicinity of this place by Mr. Porteous of Terrebonne, but was carried away two or three years ago by the ice. The Provincial Parliament have recently passed an act permitting him to build another from Repentigny to Isle Bourdon.

The shores of the Island of Montreal are elevated several feet above the level of the river. The soil is uncommonly rich and fertile, and yields more abundant harvests than any other part of Lower Canada. The price of land averages from 20 to 30 dollars per acre. The island is 30 miles in length, and about 7 in breadth. It belongs to the seminary of St. Sulpice, by which order the island was originally settled, about 165 years ago, under the Abbé Quêtus, for the purpose of establishing a seminary similar to that of France.

As our vessel approached within two miles of the town, we met with the strong current, or rapid, which runs between Montreal and the opposite Island of St. Helen. Though we were favoured with almost a gale of wind, yet the schooner moved very slowly through the water; and it often happens that vessels are baffled in their attempts to get up to the town. I have heard an anecdote related, concerning a ship from England, that failed in getting through this rapid, which, as it staggers all belief, I should not have noticed, had it not been mentioned as a fact by

many people in Canada. Two ships arrived from England, early in the year, and went up the river at the same time. The one drawing less water, I suppose, than the other, succeeded in reaching the town of Montreal; but the other not being able to stem the current was obliged to anchor below. The successful vessel, having discharged her cargo and taken in another, sailed for England; after which she returned to Canada, the same year, with a fresh cargo, went up the river, and found her companion still lying at the foot of the rapid! They afterwards returned to England together.

The opposite Island of St. Helen belongs to the Baroness de Longueil: this lady married a gentleman of the name of Grant, and brought him very extensive and valuable landed property. Since his death, it has been divided between her and the children. The eldest son goes by the familiar appellation of Baron Grant.

The town of Montreal has a singular appearance when viewed from the water, in consequence of the light-gray stone of the new buildings, and the tin covered roofs of the houses, which emit a strong glare when the sun shines. The shipping lie close to the shore, which is very steep, and forms a kind of natural wharf, upon which the vessels discharge their cargoes. About twenty yards back, the land rises to the height of 15 or

20 feet; and an artificial wharf has been constructed, and faced with plank; the goods are, however, all shipped from, and landed upon, the beach below. A great many English vessels arrive annually at Montreal, but it is a voyage that few captains are willing to make a second time, if they can possibly avoid it, the navigation up the river above Quebec being very hazardous, and the pilots unskilful and inattentive. The vessel in which I came home was run broadside on one of the islands just below Montreal, though going with the wind right aft. The pilot was intoxicated, and the vessel was just running through the wrong channel, when he ordered the helm hard down: it was, however, too late, and she went ashore: fortunately she was got off with little damage, and arrived at Quebec. Upon our departure from Quebec, for England, we met with another accident of a similar nature, though the captain had procured a fresh pilot. The man had taken us safe through the most difficult passage in the river at night; and the next day, about noon, at the very moment when we were going along with a fair wind, he ran us upon Hare Island reef. There we lay for three hours in the painful expectation that the vessel would beat her bottom out, or otherwise be seriously injured, as the wind continued to increase, and she thumped violently upon a hard chalky ground. Very luckily

it was ebb tide when the accident happened; and after lightening the vessel considerably of some staves and spars, she floated on the return of tide. We were then above a hundred miles below Quebec; and it would have been mortifying to have had to return back to repair our damages: the vessel, however, did not make a great deal of water, and we proceeded to sea, after discharging the pilot at Father Point. The captain was so sickened of his Canadian trip, which was the first he had made, that he swore he never would enter the St. Lawrence again. The North-west merchants have two or three vessels of their own, which make an annual voyage to Canada, to carry home their furs, &c.

The interior of Montreal is extremely heavy and gloomy. The buildings are ponderous masses of stone, erected with very little taste and less judgement. They are seldom more than two stories above the ground floor, including garrets. The doors and window-shutters are covered with large sheets of tin, painted of a red or lead-colour, corresponding with the gloomy darkness of the stone, of which most of the old houses are built. There is a heavy sameness of appearance which pervades all the streets, whether new or old; nor are they remarkable for width, though they are for the most part laid out in a regular manner. The only open place or square in the town, except the two

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The place d'armes at Montreal.

markets, is the Place d'Armes, and which, under the French government, was the place where the garrison troops paraded. The French Catholic church occupies the whole of the east side of the square; and on the south side, adjoining some private houses, is a very good tavern, called the Montreal Hotel, kept by Mr. Dillon. During my stay in this city I lodged at his house, and found it superior to any in Canada: every thing in it is neat, cleanly, and well conducted, and perfectly agreeable to an Englishman's taste. The old gentleman came out in the retinue of Lord Dorchester; he is a very ingenious character, and fond of expressing his attachment to his king and country, by illuminations, and firing his pedereroes off in the square, upon His Majesty's birth-day and on other extraordinary occasions. While I remained at his house, I found the bells of the French church extremely unpleasant; they have a fine loud tone, but are rung in such a discordant manner, and so frequently, that they become quite a nuisance to those who are obliged to live near them.

The town walls and fortifications, which were erected to protect the inhabitants against the irruptions of the Iroquois and other hostile Indians, are now falling to decay. A great part have been levelled with the ground, and an act has lately passed the Provincial Parliament to remove the remainder.

At the back of the town, just behind the new court-house, is the parade, where the troops are exercised. The ground is considerably elevated along this part, and forms a steep bank for several hundred yards in length. Here the inhabitants walk of an evening, and enjoy a beautiful view of the suburbs of St. Lawrence and St. Antoine, and the numerous gardens, orchards, and plantations of the gentry, adorned with neat and handsome dwelling-houses. Large green fields are interspersed amidst this rich variety of objects, which are concentrated in an extensive valley, gradually rising towards a lofty mountain, that stands about two miles and a half distant, at the back of the town: from this mountain the island has taken its name of Montreal, or Royal Mount. It is said to be elevated 70 toises above the level of the river, and is upwards of two miles in length from north to south. It is covered with trees and shrubs, except towards its base, where some parts have been cleared and cultivated. A large handsome stone building, belonging to the widow of the late Mr. M'Tavish of the North-west company, stands at the foot of the mountain in a very conspicuous situation. Gardens and orchards have been laid out, and considerable improvements made, which add much to the beauty of the spot. Mr. M'Tavish is buried in a tomb a short distance from his house on the side of the mountain, in the midst of a thick

shrubbery. A monumental pillar is erected over the vault, and may be seen at a great distance.

The town and its four streets or suburbs occupy a considerable extent of ground, and the number of inhabitants is computed at 12,000. The principal public buildings are, the General hospital; the Hotel Dieu; the convent of Notre Dame; the French cathedral; the English church, an unfinished building; the old monastery of Franciscan friars, converted into barracks; the Seminary; the Court-house; Government-house, &c.

The General Hospital was founded by Madame Youville, a widow lady, in 1753, and contains a superior and 19 nuns; it is situated on the banks of the river, near a small rivulet which divides it from the town. There is also a college for the education of young men, founded in 1719 by the Sieur Charron.

The Hotel Dieu was established in 1644 by Madame de Bouillon for the purpose of administering relief to the sick poor; it contains a superior and 39 nuns, who attend and nurse the patients. An apartment in the upper part of the house is appropriated to the females, and a large room below for the men. The establishment is now chiefly supported by a slender income arising from landed property; the funds upon which it formerly relied, being vested in Paris, were lost during the revolution.

The convent of Notre Dame contains a superior and upwards of 40 nuns. It was founded about the year 1650, by Mademoiselle Marguerite Bourgeois, for the instruction of female children. The sisters of this institution are not confined in so strict a manner as at the other convents, but have the liberty of going out. They attend mass at the French church on Sunday morning and afternoon. They are dressed in black gowns and hoods, and are chiefly elderly women.

There are two of the old Franciscan friars still living in one corner of their monastery, the remainder of which has been converted into barracks for the troops quartered in the city. Upon the arrival of several additional regiments at Quebec, the 49th and 100dth were sent up to Montreal to do duty in that town, and to garrison the outposts near the American line.

The French cathedral in the Place d'Armes is a large substantial stone-building, built with little taste. The interior is, however, plentifully decorated in the Catholic style, with all the paraphernalia of that religion; and the size of the building renders it a very commodious place of worship, and well adapted for the accommodation of its numerous congregation. In summer, a great many people kneel outside the church in preference to being within. The service of the English church is performed at present in a small chapel,

which is also used by the Presbyterians. A handsome new church is partly built, but for want of funds remains in an unfinished state.

The Court-house is a neat and spacious building, and an ornament to the town; a gaol is building on one side of it, upon the site of the old College of the Jesuits. The city is divided into Upper and Lower Towns, though there is very little difference in their elevation. The principal street of the latter extends from north to south the whole length of the city, nearest the water-side, and is called Paul-street. Here are situated the wholesale and retail stores of the merchants and traders; the lower market-place; the post-office; the Hotel Dieu; and a large tavern formerly kept by Hamilton, but now in the possession of Mr. Holmes. There are several smaller taverns in this street and in the market-place, but they are frequented principally by the American traders who visit Montreal. Paul-street, though narrow, presents a scene of greater bustle than any other part of the town, and is the chief mart of the trade and commerce carried on in Montreal.

Several short streets proceed westward from Paul-street, and communicate with that of Notre Dame, which runs in a parallel line, extending the whole length of the city. This street forms what is called the Upper Town, and contains the Recollet monastery, the French seminary, the

Catholic church, and Place d'Armes; the new English church, the convent of Notre Dame, the court-house and gaol, and the old building called the Government-house, which latter has no claim to particular notice. The dwelling-houses of the principal merchants are mostly situated in Notre Dame-street, and other parts of the Upper Town, their stores being stationed near the water-side. These two parallel streets are considerably lengthened to the northward by the suburb of Quebec; and to the southward by the suburbs of St. Antoine and Recollet. In the centre of Notre Dame-street, a long street branches off to the westward, and forms the suburb of St. Lawrence. It is also the high road to the interior of the island, and crossing the intermediate valley passes over the foot of the mountain. In one of the short streets leading to the Upper Town, and situated opposite the court-house, a new market-place and rows of convenient stalls have been recently constructed; it will be a great accommodation to the town, as the old market in Paul-street is too much confined for the increased population of the place. The streets of Montreal are for the most part well paved, and the improvements which are going on throughout the town will render it more commodious and agreeable than it is at present. The town itself will always be gloomy, but the environs are beautiful.

Lambert del.

Notre Dame Street, Montreal.

All the principal North-west merchants reside at Montreal, which is the emporium of their trade, and the grand mart of the commerce carried on between Canada and the United States. They, and other respectable merchants, have country-houses a few miles from the city, which, with their numerous orchards and gardens well stocked with every variety of fruit-trees, shrubs, and flowers, render the surrounding country extremely beautiful and picturesque. The succession of rich and variegated objects that are presented to the eye of the spectator, from the base of the neighbouring mountain, cannot be surpassed in any part of Canada, with the exception, perhaps, of the view from Cape Diamond at Quebec. They are however, of a very different nature, and may be described like Homer and Virgil; the one grand, bold, and romantic; the other serene, beautiful, and elegant. Quebec has more of the majesty of nature; Montreal more of the softness of art.

A large store has been converted into a theatre, in which Mr. Prigmore's company occasionally perform. Mr. and Mrs. Usher, and a few others from Boston, whom I have mentioned in a former chapter, met last summer with a tolerable reception, which, unless the embargo is taken off in the States, will most likely induce them to remain in Canada. Society is reckoned more friendly and agreeable in Montreal than in any other town in

Lower Canada. The North-west merchants live in a superior style to the rest of the inhabitants, and keep very expensive tables. They are friendly and hospitable to strangers who are introduced to them, and whom they entertain in a sumptuous manner. The envious, however, consider their apparent generosity as flowing more from pride and ostentation than from real hospitality, and they have often been the subjects of newspaper criticism. It is of very little consequence, in my opinion, what influences a man to treat his acquaintance well, so long as he intends nothing to their prejudice. We have all of us some peculiar motive for our actions, which if strictly scrutinized would not, perhaps, be always found disinterested.

A public assembly is held at Holmes's tavern during the winter; and private dances, with tea and card parties, and cariole excursions out of town, form the whole amusements of that season. In summer, pleasure gives way to business, which at that period of bustle affords full employment to all. A few excursions and dinner parties in the country occur sometimes to relieve the weight of mercantile affairs. Concerts are very rare, and never take place unless the regimental bands are in town. The inhabitants, like those of Quebec and Three Rivers, possess very little knowledge of the polite and liberal accomplishments necessary to form the complete lady or gentleman. They

however labour under the disadvantage of the want of proper masters, and institutions to instruct and complete them in the higher branches of education; yet it is, perhaps, their fault that they have them not, for without proper reward and encouragement they never can have them.

Ship-building is successfully carried on by Mr. Munn who generally launches two or three vessels from 200 to 500 tons every year. The shipwrights are mostly Europeans, and I one day, while viewing a vessel on the stocks, perceived among them one of the men who had run away from my uncle's service. He had been hired as a house carpenter by us; but the ship-builders in Canada are not very scrupulous who they employ, so they can find men to handle the axe well. They have of late taken French Canadians as apprentices, who are highly praised for their capacity. This is a very good plan; for European ship-builders have very high wages, and are besides a very drunken dissolute set. The Canadian workmen, on the contrary, are sober, steady men, and attend regularly to their work from break of day to sun-set.

One of the greatest errors committed by persons who go to Canada to settle, is the taking of European servants with them; for experience has fully proved in innumerable instances, one of which, my uncle's case, is a recent example, that no obligations whatever are sufficient to ensure a master

the labour of his European servants, more especially if he is in advance to them for any part of their wages. The inducements to leave him, in such cases, become so great, that the servant must be more than commonly virtuous, or have strong motives for staying, if he does not break his engagement. This complaint is so general at Quebec, that little or nothing is done to remedy the grievance, which seems to set the laws at defiance: yet the magistrates have sufficient power to punish both masters and servants; but they seldom or never give a satisfactory decision in cases where the latter are to blame.

I have heard that of twenty servants brought out by Lord Dorchester some years back, when Governor-general of Canada, not one remained with him at the end of a twelvemonth. Many other persons have been served in the same way, and my uncle himself lost eighteen. One very great mischief is occasioned by the low price of spirits, particularly rum, which may be obtained for less than five shillings a gallon. Hence few of the lower order of Europeans who arrive at Quebec, but become drunkards in a very short time, and drunkenness never fails to precipitate them into worse vices. If they have a little money, it is soon squandered, either in liquor with their dissolute companions, or in going to law with their masters; in which case it seldom fails to find its

way into the pocket of a well-known advocate for disaffected servants; and the account is generally wound up by some crimp for the shipping, or recruiting serjeant for the army.

The scarcity of hands for labour is certainly considerable, yet by no means so great as is generally represented; it is therefore more to the interest of gentlemen settling in Canada, to engage the native artisans, than to take out men who will never remain in their service. The French mechanics and farmers may be, and indeed are, greatly inferior in abilities to Europeans; but they are superior to them in sobriety, industry, and civility. The French Canadians, however, have great ingenuity, and it only requires cultivation to render them excellent artists. Some clever American mechanics are also frequently to be met with in Canada, particularly mill-wrights: these people are sometimes steady workmen; but they will often give their employers the slip in the middle of their work, if they happen to meet with a more lucrative offer from another person.

I am sorry to say that the practice of enticing away each other's servants is but too much the custom in Canada; and it is owing as much to this want of good faith, that strangers on their arrival find it so difficult to retain their servants, as to any other cause. We ourselves unfortunately experienced this treatment with some of our peo-

ple, to whom very flattering offers were made *immediately* on their arrival, and in consequence of which they ran away from our service, and were employed by ship-builders and others in spite of a law to the contrary.

The markets of Montreal are plentifully supplied with all kinds of provisions, which are sold much cheaper than at Quebec or Three Rivers; large supplies are brought in every winter from the States, particularly cod-fish, which is packed in ice and conveyed in sleighs from Boston. Hay and wood are sold in the Place d'Armes. Two newspapers are printed weekly at Montreal; the Gazette, and Canadian Courant, both on Monday afternoon.

From Montreal to La Chine is a turnpike road about seven or eight miles in length. This is the only turnpike in Lower Canada, and the road is not very well kept up for the toll that is demanded; fourpence is charged for a horse, and eightpence for a horse and chaise; but for a subscription of one or two dollars per annum an inhabitant of the island may be exempted from the daily toll. A great traffic is maintained on this road by the carters, who carry all the goods for the upper country from Montreal to La Chine, where they are put on board batteaux.

For the first mile or two out of town, the road passes partly over a common, which is beginning

to be inclosed and cultivated. After passing through the turnpike, the road proceeds up a steep ascent, and continues along a lofty height for nearly four miles, when it descends rather abruptly, and passes again over a low, flat country, until it reaches La Chine, which is situated along the shore of the river St. Lawrence. The road is lined with the houses and farms of the Habitans, and along the height the eye wanders with pleasure over an extensive cultivated valley, bordered by the St. Lawrence, which disappears amidst the thick foliage of the trees, while a small serpentine stream meanders prettily through the fields. This low country was, ages ago, probably, a part of the river, and the high land along which the turnpike road now runs was most likely the boundary within which it was confined. Its flat and marshy soil affords some foundation for this conjecture. There is another road to La Chine which winds along the shore of the St. Lawrence, and passes the rapids of St. Louis situated about half way. It is about a league longer than the turnpike road. I was told that a few years ago, before the road was made, it was nearly a day's journey for carts to go from Montreal to La Chine. The road is certainly now in a better condition, but there is still room for improvement.

La Chine is delightfully situated upon the banks of the river. It is of considerable extent,

in consequence of the houses being built in the same straggling manner as the other small settlements in Canada, where the dwellings are regulated by the situations of the farms, and are seldom formed into an assemblage of houses laid out in streets. All the goods and merchandize sent to Upper Canada are embarked at this village, to which they are carted from Montreal, as the rapids of St. Louis prevent vessels from passing up the river from that city. The goods are put on board large batteaux, or flat-bottomed boats, each of which is worked by four men and a guide, who make use of paddles and long poles, as the depth or rapidity of the current requires. A gentleman of the name of Grant, who resides at La Chine, is the owner of the batteaux, and shipper of the goods for the merchants, who pay him freight for the transportation of their merchandize. Upwards of 50 batteaux are employed in the voyage to and from Kingston, on Lake Ontario, in the course of the year. Mr. Grant also ships off the goods for the North-west merchants in large bark canoes belonging to the Company; these goods, which consist of provisions, cloth, blankets, fowling-pieces, powder and shot, and other articles for the Indian trade, are exchanged for furs.

Between 40 and 50 canoes, deeply laden with the above articles, and navigated by Canadian and Indian voyageurs, are dispatched in the course of

the spring from La Chine, and proceed up the Outaouais, or Grand River, through rapids, and over portages or carrying-places, into Lake Nipissing. From thence they pass through Riviere des François into Lake Huron, and arrive at the Company's post in Lake Superior, from whence the goods are afterwards transported to the Lake of the Woods, and distributed to the several trading posts, far in the interior of the continent.

The government stores belonging to the Indian department are kept at La Chine, under the care of Mr. Hawdon the store-keeper general. About 30 batteaux, laden with Indian presents, are dispatched every spring to Kingston, York, Niagara, and other posts belonging to the king in Upper Canada, as far as Lake St. Joseph's, near Michillimakinak; where store-keepers and clerks reside, for the delivery of the presents in their respective districts. The presents are delivered out of the stores at La Chine, by an order from Sir John Johnson, who is the superintendant-general of the Indian department. They consist chiefly of the following articles:—Scarlet and blue cloth; strouds; Molton; blankets of various sizes; Irish linen; flannel; Russia and English sheeting; hats; laced coats; rifles and fowling-pieces; powder, shot, and flints; swords, spears, harpoons, hooks, and fishing-lines; copper and tin kettles; vermilion; looking-glasses; pins, needles, tapes,

thread, &c.; scissars, knives, nests of trunks, boxes, &c.

In the stores I also saw upwards of twenty pieces of fine French cambric, a quantity of tea, Jews' harps, razors, &c. the remains of former requisitions, but which are not now delivered out. Articles of that description seldom or never reached the Indians, being much oftener used by the store-keepers and agents of the Indian department for their own families. The great abuses which formerly existed in that branch of the public service were shameful, but are now greatly abolished. The former enormous requisitions are also reduced to little more than 10,000*l.* for Upper and Lower Canada; and together with the salaries of the officers and agents of the Indian department the expenses do not amount to half the sum stated by Mr. Weld in 1796, which he computed at one hundred thousand pounds.

Opposite to La Chine stands the Indian village of Cachenonaga. Its inhabitants, who amount in all to 1200, are descended from the Agniers, one of the Iroquois nations, who, though bitter enemies to the French, were, by the indefatigable zeal and abilities of the Jesuits, partly civilized, and converted to the Christian faith. They were originally settled at La Prairie; but the land producing very indifferent maize, they removed to Sault St. Louis, and from thence to the situation they now occupy.

I took the opportunity during my stay at La Chine of visiting these Indians, and in company with Mr. Hawdon went over to the village. We saw very few men, but plenty of squaws, who were dressed in their dirty blankets, lugging their children about, or sitting down on the ground in groups, laughing and chatting with each other. Idleness reigned in every part of the village; nor could I find either man, woman or child employed at any sort of work, though I looked into many of their houses. Their habitations are dirty, miserable, and destitute of furniture; and the whole village, which is divided into two or three streets, presents a most forlorn and wretched appearance. Among some of the groups of women I noticed three or four European children with light hair, whom they were nursing, and was informed that they frequently adopted the natural offspring of the white people whenever the latter abandoned them.

Such instances, I think, may serve to show the fondness of the Indian women for children, and indeed no mothers can appear more tender of their offspring than they do. It is an amiable trait in their character, and must make the Europeans blush for that false pride and inhumanity which induce them to forsake their children.

We saw several handsome Indian women, with fine black hair and light olive complexions, tinged with the bloom of health, who only required a be-

coming dress, instead of their dirty blankets, to make them rival our European females. I observed one of their little girls, about seven years old, with something in her arms which she seemed to be nursing; and was going to look at it when she ran away, and hid it under her blanket as if ashamed: upon which I ran after her, and found it was a *doll*, placed upon a little *cradle board*, and bandaged up with little pieces of coloured cotton, in exact imitation of the manner in which the Indian women nurse their children. I call it the *cradle* board, because it serves that purpose when the child is restless far better than the English cradle; it being the practice to suspend it by a string from the branch of a tree, or the top of their wigwam, and swing it backwards and forwards till the child falls asleep.

We called on Mr. Vanfelson, the curé of the village under whose care the Indians are placed. He lives in a tolerable house adjoining a small chapel, in which service is regularly performed by him on Sundays and festivals. The Indians who happen to be at home attend with their wives and children, and behave in a very respectful and becoming manner. The women particularly are solemn and devout in their deportment, and are strongly attached to the Holy Virgin, for whom they seem to have a remarkable veneration. They have good voices, and sing their Indian hymns in

an agreeable manner. While we were viewing the chapel, one of the squaws had occasion to pass through it to the curé's house: she went up to the altar, crossed herself, curtsied, and passed on.

Mr. Vanfelson is a most respectable young priest, and attends with much diligence to the improvement of the Indians. His brother at Quebec is an advocate of some eminence. In the course of our walk through the village we met the Chevalier Lorimier, an old French gentleman, who resides as an interpreter for government, who allows him 100*l.* per annum. He was an officer in the French army at the conquest of the country; and in the American war commanded a detachment of Indians, with whom he assimilated himself so closely in manners, that he gained their affections and married one of their women. At her death he married a French lady of La Chine, who also died a few years after; when such was his partiality for the Indians, that he married another of their women, with whom he now lives. By his three wives he has had several children: one of them, a young man, carries on the fur trade among the Indians in the vicinity of Lake Tomisconing. Early in 1808 young Lorimier and his partner set out with a party of Indians from Cachenonaga upon their annual traffic. By the time they arrived in the interior of the country their provisions grew short, in consequence of the ravenous appe-

tites of the Indians, who had secretly consumed more than their allowance. It being the month of February, the snow still on the ground, and they several hundred miles from any settlement, they were in a short time reduced to absolute starvation. The Indians, of whom there were nearly twenty, all perished in a few days, and only Lorimier and his partner were left. They travelled as fast as they were able through the woods to the nearest post, hollaing as they went along, hoping to meet with some straggling parties of Indians who might be hunting. For seven days these unfortunate men subsisted only upon their shot belts, which they moistened with soap and sucked. At length they were so much exhausted that they could proceed no further, and laid themselves down, fully expecting never to rise again alive. They still endeavoured, as well as they were able, to shout and holla, but not a human being presented himself to their longing eyes, in that dreary and immeasurable wilderness. How long they lay in that famished state they knew not, as they were insensible when discovered by a hunting party of Indians and Canadians, who by mere accident passed the very spot where they lay. It was a most providential circumstance, for they had never heard the shouts of Lorimier and his companion; yet when they were restored to their senses they could not be convinced but they were hollaing very

loud, so much were they exhausted by their sufferings. Lorimier arrived at Three Rivers about six months afterwards, while I was in that town: he had perfectly recovered; but his partner was obliged to remain behind, being too weak to perform the journey. Notwithstanding their hardships, I understand they procured that season above 700*l.* worth of furs.

The Indians of Cachenonaga cultivate a little corn, and breed hogs and poultry; but the principal part of them subsist upon hunting and fishing. A chief resides among them called Captain Thomas: his house is but little better furnished than the rest, and he is a very drunken character. The old Iroquois chief, Captain John, of the Mohawk village in Upper Canada, whom I have before mentioned, played a very cunning trick upon his countrymen at Cachenonaga, when he came down to La Chine to receive his presents from Mr. Hawdon. He was over at Cachenonaga very often, where he frequently got drunk with his friend Captain Thomas and other Indians. His son Peter, a fine lad, was repeatedly going after him to get him away from their company, but old John would continually give him the slip. We afterwards found that he had given his countrymen pieces of old letters, pretending that they were orders from Sir John Johnson upon the store-keeper-general for goods, which they might receive if they would

give him some rum. The simpletons took the bits of paper, which they could not read, and gave the sly old chief a quantity of liquor in proportion to the value of the articles which he said they were to have. A few days after some of them came over to Mr. Hawdon for hats, blankets, and fowling-pieces, and were much disappointed when they found themselves so completely duped; though the Indian delights in a stratagem!

Captain John is about sixty years old. In the American war he served under Sir John Johnson, and was the most active and courageous Indian leader in the British service. Like most of his countrymen, he presents a singular compound of good and bad qualities, though I believe the latter arise only from his fondness for ardent spirits. He is strongly attached to our government, from whom he receives captain's half-pay and allowances, besides considerable presents every year for himself and family. He called upon us one day during my stay at Mr. Hawdon's: we had just dined, and the wine was on the table. Mr. Hawdon invited him to stay and take some; to which he readily consented. "My son," says he, as he tasted the Madeira wine, which from its colour he at first sight took for rum, "have you not got something stronger?" Mr. Hawdon replied in the negative, not being willing to encourage him in drinking spirits. John, after making a wry face, drank it

off: it however warmed him, I suppose, more than he expected, for he began to push the bottle about pretty freely, and got into a very good humour. He then entertained us with an account of some of his campaigns during the American war; and of the singular manner in which he had both his arms broke. He was employed with other Indians at Fort Stanwix. One day he and a party, among whom was Captain Brandt, set out upon an expedition through the woods: John got drunk and fell asleep, during which Brandt and the rest of the party left him. No sooner was John awake than he fell in with a party of Americans who had been pillaging a camp; he immediately dashed in amongst them, sword in hand, thinking his party must be near him. The American officer wishing to spare him, would not suffer the soldiers to fire, and ordered them to secure him without injury. John, however, continued to lay about him on all sides with the fury of a madman, setting up the war whoop, and shouting for his party to join him. The officer was therefore obliged to order his men to fire, and John was immediately shot through both his arms, which fell useless by his side. He was then secured, and two men left to guard him, while the rest marched to a fort in the neighbourhood. By this time the chief had recovered himself, and the fumes of the liquor had

evaporated: finding, therefore, that his legs were free, though his arms were of no use to him, being both broken, he took to his heels, and bounded into the thickest part of the forest with the nimbleness of the deer. The two soldiers fired, but missed him; and the next day John arrived at the English camp, where he got his wounds dressed, and soon recovered to take signal vengeance on his enemies. He then related another anecdote, which drew tears from his eyes, respecting the narrow escape which he and a British officer had, with a party of Indians each, of destroying one another by mistake. The British officer happened to be dressed in green, like some of the Americans; and while skirmishing in the woods the two parties came suddenly upon each other. John and the officer immediately presented their rifles, and were on the point of firing when the latter fortunately called out, "Is that Captain John?" He was answered in the affirmative just in time to save their lives; another moment would have been too late; for, as the old chief declared, while the big tear rolled down his sun-burnt cheek, "Both must have died! Both were good shots." Captain Ferguson of the Canadian fencibles assured me, that what Captain John had related of himself was strictly correct; and he added, that the old chief could never speak of the latter cir-

cumstance without tears, when he reflected how near he was shooting his friend, and being shot by him.

Captain John declared to us that he suffered uncommon hardships during that war, often lying on the bare ground in winter-time with no other covering than an old ragged shirt, with which in wet weather he was also obliged to keep his rifle dry. John is said to have been, when young, the handsomest and most warlike chief in the British service; he boasted of the number of American officers whom he had slain; and concluded with saying, "Ah, my son, I long to smell gun-powder again before I die*!" His son Peter dresses in the English style, and in good clothes; he speaks English well, and bears an excellent character: except his complexion he has very little of the Indian about him. Captain John has also a daughter, who resides with him at the Mohawk village near Kingston. She dresses in the Indian style; but always in the best manner, with silver ornaments and fine scarlet cloth. She is said to be very handsome, and some years ago attracted the attention of a Mr. C——, who had the delivery of the Indian presents at La Chine. She was attached to him, and expected he would have married her:

* The old chief has unfortunately for the happiness of the two countries realized his wish.

under that impression she sacrificed her virtue at the shrine of love. Whether or not he promised her marriage I have never heard; but after she was brought to bed of a child by him, finding that he would not comply with that ceremony, she armed herself with a brace of pistols, and for a long time watched for him at La Chine, threatening to take his life for his perfidy to her. He thought proper to keep out of the way till her anger cooled, and she returned to Upper Canada. Her unfaithful lover died a short time after in the Hotel Dieu of Montreal, having lost his senses in consequence, it is said, of having been (as he thought) accessary to the death of an officer of the 6th regiment, who was killed in a duel, and to whom he had been second. The officer was shot in the knee, and the doctors could not tell whether any part of the cloth had entered with the ball: some were of opinion it had, and others that it had not. While they disputed a mortification ensued, and the patient died! Mr. C——, looking upon himself as a participator in the melancholy event which had deprived him of his friend, took it so much to heart, that he became deranged in his mind, and died shortly after.

The post road of Lower Canada extends nearly to the line between the two provinces, about forty miles from La Chine: but the road from thence to Kingston, in Upper Canada, is extremely bad

in some places; being through swamps and morasses in the woods, which render it frequently impassable. In winter time, when covered with snow, it is an excellent road; but, in summer, travellers generally proceed by water from La Chine in the batteaux which are setting off almost every week.

I remained at Dillon's hotel, Montreal, about a week, waiting the arrival of a vessel at St. John's to take me across Lake Champlain. It was early in November, and the snow fell in abundance for two or three days; during which the carioles were driven in the streets. Several Roman Catholic funerals passed before the door of the hotel during my stay: they were more or less splendid according to the circumstances of the deceased. The first I saw was but indifferently attended: at the head marched an old man in his common habitant dress, carrying something like a pestle and mortar; next to him was a little boy dressed in a black hood or cowl over a white surplice, which partly covered a black cloth petticoat. He carried a wooden cross about four times taller than himself. After him came the priest dressed in the same style, with the addition of two long pieces of white cloth edged with black, each of which terminated at the bottom with a square piece marked with a cross, and hung down before him from his shoulders. The body was supported by four men, and fol-

lowed by two or three people in their usual dress: the coffin was of common deal, not painted, and partly covered with a shabby pall.

The next funeral which I saw was of a superior description, and was attended by four priests, ten boys, one beadle, and three men carrying a wooden box and wax tapers. The coffin, however, was of common deal unpainted; but supported on a bier, and carried by four men. An indifferent pall was thrown over it, and four men on each side carried wax tapers. They were, I suppose, in the capacity of pall-bearers; but neither they nor the mourners behind were dressed in any other than their usual clothes. The priests and boys were dressed as before; but instead of a large wooden cross they now carried a silver one, fixed upon a long black staff.

It was a curious circumstance, that while the snow was falling in the streets I was plagued indoors with the flies. These troublesome companions are seldom driven away by the cold in Canada, being kept alive by the heat of the stoves. From this it may be easily conceived how little the inhabitants suffer from the severity of their climate.

A sloop having at length arrived at St. John's, the master came to Montreal to procure freight; upon which I took the opportunity of engaging a passage in his vessel to Skenesborough.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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